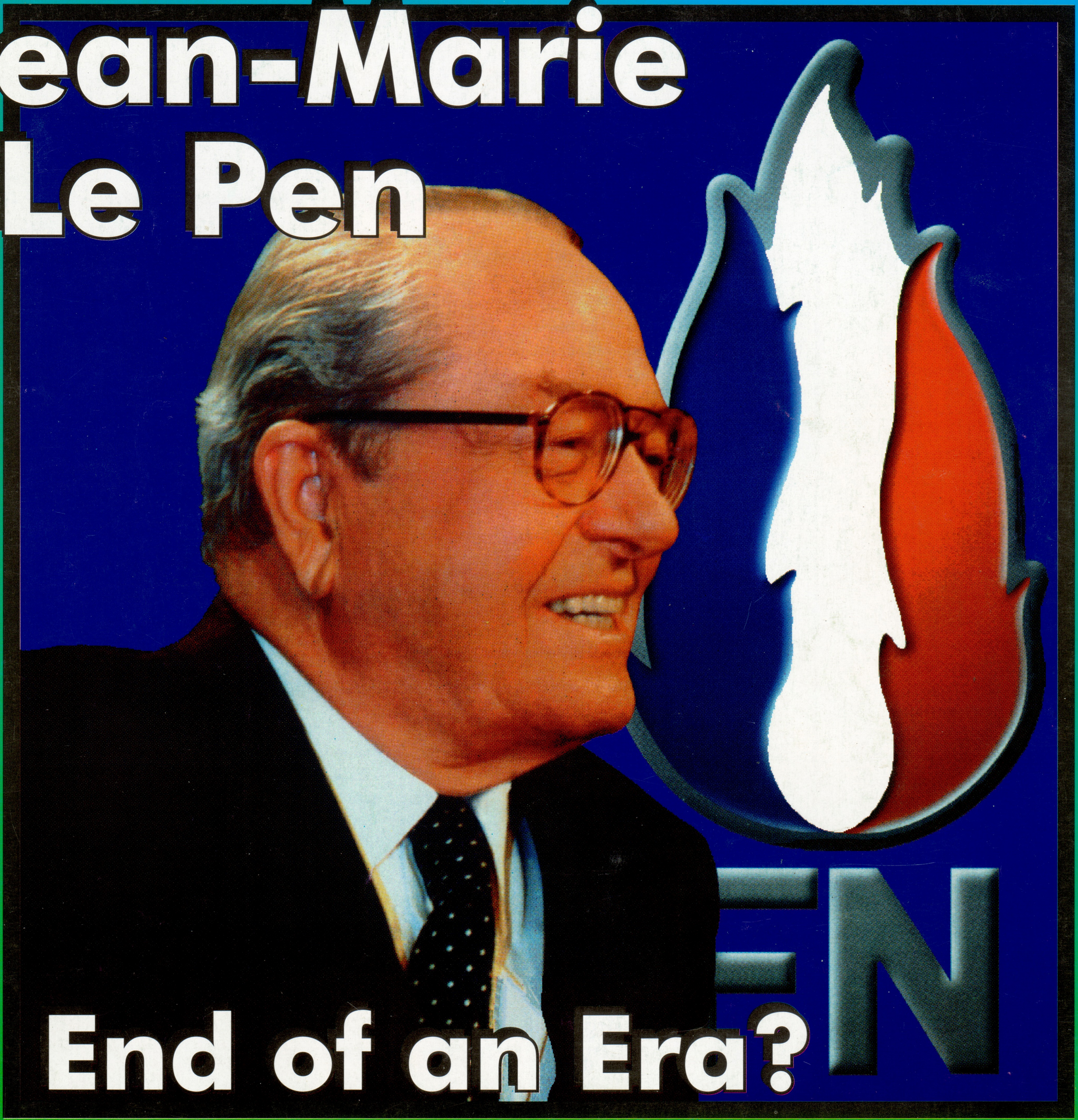
£2.50

Patriot

Issue No.4 Spring 1999 Nationalism for the future

Jean-Marie Le Pen



End of an Era?

Inside:

The Nationalist Cowboys

Agents Provocateurs

Blenheim 1704

Also inside...

FN book review, quiz, your letters, poetry

Patriot

Issue No. 4
Spring 1999

Editor
A. Lecomber

CONTENTS

EDITORIAL......................2
THE FUTURE FOR NATIONALISM.................3
FRANCE & BRITAIN — THE *FN* & THE BNP.......9
FRIENDS?.....................10
AGENTS PROVOCATEURS & DESTABILISATION (Pt2) 12
POETRY PAGE............19
THE SELF-NEUTRALISERS...........20
LETTERS......................24
QUIZ PAGE...................25
THE EURO — A PRIMER.....................26
FOOTBALL UK.............29
BLENHEIM.....................30
BOOK REVIEW............34

Cover Picture:-
Jean-Marie Le Pen
President of the *Front National*

Patriot

***Patriot* is a tri-annual published in support of the British National Party. The editor is pleased to receive letters and articles for possible publication to the address below.**
Those wishing to reproduce *Patriot* articles should include the writer's name and the name and address of the magazine.

Printed and published by:-
The Patriotic Press
PO. Box 1032, Ilford,
Essex.
IG1 1DY

EDITORIAL

This year will be a momentous one for the party. The huge effort now being made for the European elections on June 10th will ensure that the work the party did for the General Election of 1997 will be consolidated and built upon.

Slowly but surely, the party's internal organisation and structures are either being improved or put into place. There are still inefficiencies, as well as complacent Organisers, and these problems need to be addressed. In the meantime, however, every effort needs to be directed at the Euro Election and to deriving the maximum benefit from it.

Changes to the rules relating to party political broadcasts were intended by our enemies to raise the qualifying hurdle so high that the BNP would be unable to 'get on the box'. They seriously underestimated the party and made a grievous mistake. Left to ourselves, we were to have fought four or five regions with blanket leaflet distribution in three and partial distribution in the others. As it is the party's enemies, by declaring that the BNP could only get a TV broadcast (in England) by contesting every single region, have scored an own goal, since we are able and prepared to do just that! Instead of the four or five regions in England, the party will now contest all nine of them and instead of blanket coverage in three and partial coverage in one or two, the party will still get blanket coverage in three and get partial coverage in every other region as well. Furthermore, this leaflet coverage can and will be targeted to selected towns and cities for the party to obtain the optimum spread of new members, with the specific intention of forming many new groups and branches in the election's aftermath.

To their horror, the party's enemies are becoming aware that they have played the part of a brutal training instructor, who (with absolutely no words of praise or encouragement!) has forced the BNP to stretch itself, to grow, to become stronger and stronger as it has had to meet and surpass all the new targets. Perversely, the party's enemies have helped and are helping the BNP to grow!

After the Euro Election, the party will then be engaged in possibly the most important task of all — converting the enquiries to the party into paid up members, the members into activists and the activists into new Organisers and treasurers. Thousands of enquiries will translate into hundreds of new members, which will mean dozens of new activists and an unknown number of new groups and branches. That is why the coming Euro Election is so important and so exciting for the BNP.

And after that, members of the party will have the chance to vote for the first time in the history of the party for the next chairman of the BNP. Most party members reading this will know that BNP Director of Publicity, Nick Griffin has been nominated for the leadership of the party this year. As a result, there will be an election for party leader in which every member will have a single vote to decide who leads the BNP into the next millennium. With so many political opportunities opening up for us, this will be a challenging job; one which will require vision, energy, charisma, adaptability, and managerial flair. Whether that person be John Tyndall the current Leader or Nick Griffin, only time and the members will tell.

BNP — FREEDOM PARTY!

NICK GRIFFIN looks at the future for Nationalism

"The British people are incurably apathetic. They've done nothing to stop fifty years of mass immigration, economic decline and political treason. They won't do anything in the next fifty years either." "Economic and racial chaos will hit the fan very soon, then the public will turn to us." These two very different views can be heard on almost any occasion when racial nationalists meet. And both are wrong.

It is, of course, true that the British people have shown a woeful lack of resistance to the horrors inflicted upon our nation throughout the second half of the twentieth century. I was going to write 'a remarkable lack of resistance', but that's the point, it wasn't 'remarkable' at all. Under the unique circumstances it was probably inevitable. Those circumstances are that all the evils of which we complain were imposed or permitted under a system which, side by side with the problems, also delivered to the nations of the West the highest standard of living in the history of the world.

Anyone who can remember a grandparent born at around about the turn of the century has a direct and personal link back to the days when the first motor car trundled into town, a time when an attempt at powered flight was still regarded as a novel form of suicide, when flickering silent films were accompanied by someone playing a piano in the cinema. Everyone with a family member who lived through the 1930s has a direct link to an era when every working class street regularly lost lives or health to diseases such as TB and polio; a time when malnutrition was commonplace, when men queued — and even fought — for a day's work; when the elderly dreaded the workhouse, and when the children of the poor went to school without shoes. And, most shocking of all, even those conditions were a vast improvement on the situation for generations before that.

Now contrast that with the post-war wonders of the consumer society: Cars; the NHS; central heating; social security; fridges full of exotic foods; foreign holidays; colour TVs; videos; home computers, etc, etc, etc. The propaganda clout of the mass media and the political hangover from a war against German nationalism have obviously been factors in encouraging the public to put up with liberal social engineering projects which have wrecked our society, but the transformation of our national standard of living has surely been the decisive factor.

That being the case, there can be no doubt that the reversal of those material and psychological gains through the globalisation of the economy will quickly provide a political opening for radical nationalism to a degree unseen for more than fifty years. Even more heartening is the fact that the failure of the liberal experiment has already alienated millions of people from a system which cannot protect them from crime and has destroyed all the old certainties, moralities and identities. All these failings could be overlooked during the Golden Age of consumerist plenty, but will become unbearable now that it is passing.

FUTURE OPPORTUNITY

Poverty, malnutrition, insecurity and despair already stalk the run-down estates where the grandchildren of the betrayed Tommies have been abandoned by the system, over the next years these dark horsemen of the globalist apocalypse will visit more and more of this land. I believe that it is both our opportunity and our duty to lead our people in resistance to the evils of a system which sacrifices human dignity, national freedom and racial identity on the altar of Mammon.

The prophets of "incurable British apathy" have already been discredited by events such as the historic BNP victory at Millwall, direct action against paedophiles in separate episodes all over Britain, and by the militancy of once conservative and individualistic farmers. The next few years will see many more signs that our people are no longer asleep.

This, however, does not make the "people will turn to us in the coming crisis" fantasy any less false. For one thing, there is still no certainty that the crisis created by globalisation will ever actually be perceived as a crisis by the mass of the population.

Nick Griffin argues for new thinking, new tactics, New Nationalism!

They may well just see it as a continuation of years of steady, inexplicable decline. Such a view will make them more susceptable — as individuals — to the nationalist message, but will not lead them to look for an alternative to the old parties *en masse*. And, second, even if a sudden lurch into full-scale Slump does prompt a popular rejection of the existing order, that by no means makes it inevitable that the British National Party would automatically become the political beneficiary.

Quite simply, even if external circumstances make it possible for us to become a true mass movement and to get elected, this will only happen if — even before those circumstances have already arisen — we have already created the organisational skeleton of such a mass movement, and made ourselves electable. If we fail to do these things, then all the golden opportunities in the world will pass us by.

The work which will be needed to give the BNP mass movement potential and electability covers a host of different fields, but the basic requirements can be summed up in two words: responsibility and

***IMAGES OF THE BNP** It is well within the capacity of the party to create its own image. Patriotic images, with active cross spectrum support from people in all walks of life, all ages and both sexes should be the ideal.*

professionalism.

Let's start with responsibility. Tony Lecomber's review of *The Failure of British Fascism* in the last issue of *Patriot* included a frighteningly apt phrase in its description of the past efforts of British nationalism — "careless extremism". If we seriously want to be elected, the very first step is to look at the things we do, or condone, which make us unelectable, and then to strive to change them from now on, and to minimise the impact of past mistakes.

Far too many of the 'smears' against which we have railed in the past have in fact been own goals. Of course it is unjust that the media rake up old phrases and photographs from years or even decades ago, but since we know the kind of people who run the media, there is no point us complaining when they report facts. That doesn't mean that we have to compromise our principles, 'sell-out' or whatever, but does mean that, for example, we must scrutinise past records of candidates in every election, and exclude those with unacceptable political skeletons in their juvenile closets.

Of course people change and grow up, and some people who made such mistakes

years ago have played, and will continue to play, very important roles in the BNP. But anyone who expects more than a marginalised minority to actually vote for such individuals is living in cloud-cuckoo land. This is not to call for a politically correct witch-hunt, or to advocate a softening of policies, but simply to point out that, if we really wish to be taken seriously, we have to offer to the public candidates for whom Mr. & Mrs. Average Briton can vote. Those people who have now bitterly regretted errors in their past can do one hundred and one things for the party, but standing as unusually vulnerable candidates in important elections should not be one of them. However much we expect our enemies in the media to try to beat us, it is only sensible and responsible to refrain from handing them sticks with which to do it.

The same is true on policies. Nothing is easier for a group of isolated hardcore true-believers than to create a fundamentalist programme of ideological perfection which positively petrifies ordinary voters. *"C'est magnifique, mais ce n'est pas le guerre"*, remarked a French general as he watched the British Light Brigade charge to destruction before the Russian guns in the Crimea. "It's magnificent, but it's not war." The 'hardliners' equivalent is not even magnificent, it's juvenile stupidity, and it most certainly is not politics.

WANTED: MORE GUILE!

There is a recurring tendency, mainly among younger nationalists, to want to nail their colours to the mast and to take on the world without compromise. This may be magnificent, but, again, it isn't politics. Consider how our opponents have achieved so much of what they set out to do. If, right at the start, the people whose long-term aim was to create a coffee-coloured global proletariat had told the people of Britain this they would have got nowhere. So they started by talking only of 'fair play', of allowing a few thousand to come here to be trained or to be temporary 'guest-workers'. Once that was done, they started to talk about a 'multi-racial experiment' — which by definition could be stopped if it didn't work. As we know, it didn't, but that didn't stop them advancing to the next stage, the 'multi-racial society' with full-scale miscegenation. A similar process may be seen at work in the steady progression from Common Market, to EEC, to EC, to EU.

Why do nationalists, and nationalists alone, insist on spelling out in words of one syllable where they come from and where they want to go? Is it really honesty, or is it just plain stupidity? This is a life and death struggle for white survival, not a fancy dress party. A little less banner waving and a little more guile wouldn't go amiss.

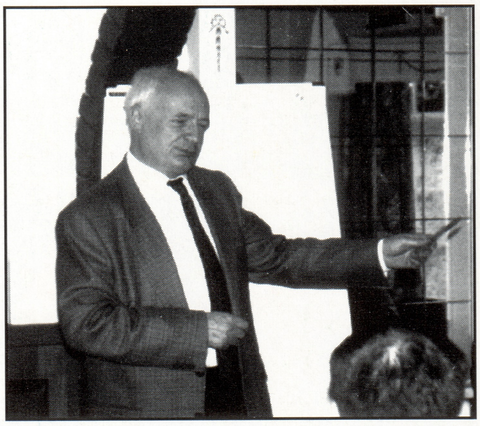
Fortunately, there are few, if any, people within the BNP to whom the above point applies. But there are many in smaller groups to which it does.

As long as our own cadres understand the full implications of our struggle, then there is no need for us to do anything to give the public cause for concern. Rather, since we need their support in order to be able to turn impotent theory into practical reality, we must at all times present them with an image of moderate reasonableness. What is the point of waving banners which frighten the horses?

This is so blindingly obvious that it shouldn't even need saying, but there are still a few who confuse shouting hardline slogans with steady commitment to getting ourselves into a position in which we can put our principles into practice. Politics is always the art of the possible, so we must judge every policy by one simple criterion: Is it realistically possible that a decisive proportion of the British people will support it? If not, then to scale down our **short-term** ambitions to a point at which the answer becomes 'yes' is not a sell-out, **but the only possible step closer to our eventual goal**. To do otherwise is not principle, but irresponsibility, and irresponsibility is a luxury we must learn to do without on the long march from the political fringe to the mainstream.

The need for professionalism will be much less controversial, but in terms of the amount of work that needs to be done it is the much more daunting requirement. First, let me begin with an uncomfortable fact: Not one segment of the British nationalist movement since the war has ever managed to achieve, or sustain, the commitment to professionalising its operations which is needed to turn a minority sect into an embryonic mass movement.

This is partly a matter of a shortage of skilled manpower, but it is also a reflection of our concentration on the importance of having the **will to win** in the abstract, at the expense of exercising the **will to do what is necessary to win** in the everyday world. We will not create a power-winning machine by continuing at our present 'adequate' level — monthly magazine, monthly paper, a range of A5 leaflets. Of course, the BNP has always intended to go further — asset acquisition, large-scale



Seminars to train new recruits and aspiring Organisers are essential

video production and so on — but in the absence of firm targets, deadlines and budgets, such schemes remain feeble wish-lists rather than becoming concrete achievements.

Fortunately, the very clear improvement in the quality of recruits over the last year or so is beginning to give us the manpower base to which to delegate many of the tasks which arise in the course of turning ambitions into reality. So where should we start?

Well, we've already started. Over the last four years or so, the BNP has been developing a political training programme. As many training seminars have been held in the last four years as in the party's entire previous history, but many more are needed, particularly intensive courses for our potential high-fliers. In the run-up to the Euro-elections there is not the spare time and money for more than a series of one-day events to train candidates and campaign workers in the technicalities of the contest, dealing with the media and turning follow-ups into new members. After next June, however, the party must devote resources to identifying and integrating into our organisation two-dozen future middle managers, as well as stepping up its grass-roots training programme through seminars, tapes and videos.

Recent simple improvements, such as good quality membership cards and regular members' bulletins are already beginning to convince members that they are valued and that, together, we are making progress — which is the key to getting them to rejoin, thereby putting the plug in the metaphorical nationalist membership bath. There has always been a tendency among the leadership of organisations such as the BNP to expect rank-and-file members to be as fanatical and self-motivated as the people at the top. "They get a reminder when their

BNP bookshop 1989-1996. It also served a headquarters function. Hi-tech flexibility and security dictate that the party runs a decentralised HQ.

subs are due, what more do they want?" was a particularly brutal expression of this attitude which I heard in the early 1980s, but variations on the theme are still widespread. Remembering how, as a young teenager in 1975, I had come close to not renewing my NF subscription because I felt that a card and two bulletins in the previous year wasn't much of a return for my hard-earned money, I was appalled then, and I remain appalled by any suggestion that members should be as little valued.

Every new member has cost someone — usually an activist giving up evenings to trudge along drizzled streets delivering leaflets — a great deal of effort to recruit. Accordingly, that new recruit must be made welcome, kept informed and made to feel an important part of his or her party. Unless we go out of our way to find ways to do that, then talk of building a 'mass movement' will remain just that. Let's have action, not talk!

Similarly, monthly organisers' bulletins and an expanding monthly literature delivery run to key units up and down the country may not seem much, but they are a big organisational improvement on the situation throughout the party's earlier history. And, of course, such improvements lead to growth which puts us in a position to take further steps forward in turn.

One area which does, however, need particularly urgent attention, is the party's administrative operation at national and regional level. While it might have been adequate for the slow, quiet days of the 1980s, it is hardly a state secret that the BNP's administrative arrangements are not, in their present form, capable of supporting rapid nationwide growth. This is a challenge which requires prompt and decisive action, both in the short-term, before next June's election, and in the medium-term, when wholesale reforms must be implemented.

As the party grows, it is essential that we develop a 'talent-spotting' capability. Although I have now been active at a high level in the BNP for several years, I am still finding people at meetings up and down the country who possess the most extraordinary and useful abilities. Sometimes their light is hidden under a bushel, but just as often their local party colleagues know about it, yet have never thought to pass the information on. Perhaps this is partly because they haven't been asked to. Such a process needs to be formalised through a regular 'skills audit' and, having identified people with particular knowledge or skills, we need to look much harder for ways to harness them and to allow them to benefit from involvement in politics in turn.

Here too is a process which has already begun, but BNP teams such as the Media Monitoring Unit, the video unit, and initiatives such as the Land and People farming/environmental circle are only the start. Many, many more such semi-autonomous BNP-linked operations will have to be created as we duplicate various functions of the old system and create the 'state-within-a-state' which is an essential part of the preparations for any cultural and political revolution.

In increasingly hard economic times, a group of people the size of the BNP and its support base can provide a significant assured market for a variety of small businesses. Some of these are no doubt already in existence, but we also need to be looking for areas of potential for new businesses, and for ways to help unemployed members to start them up. Various immigrant communities have been doing this among their own people for years; it is time to emulate them rather than simply complaining about the symptoms of their success. Again, though, it is not enough simply to float a good idea and wish upon a star that it comes true. We need to create a feasibility study group from volunteers among our growing number of management consultants, marketing executives and so on, and put them in touch with our potential new businessmen.

A similar conscious decision to seek out and utilise the expertise which already exists within our ranks, or which can be gained by sending selected individuals on training courses, must also be taken with regards to future political initiatives. The best example of this has to be the potential virtual TV and radio programmes via the Internet. The potential of this new medium to destroy the mass media's much abused position as self-appointed 'gate-keepers' — controlling which information the public receive and thereby the issues about which the public are concerned — is another point which does not need to be laboured here.

THE INTERNET

What is, however, worth mentioning is the way in which intelligent use of this new medium will help to create the impression that to be involved in the racial nationalist movement is to be involved in something big, something really worthwhile. For while that is indeed the case, it is also a fact that the abandonment of some older forms of activity — while correct in tactical and propaganda terms — has weakened the sense of belonging which is one of our most powerful recruiting tools in an increasingly atomised society. The way in which TV soap operas have become pseudo-families for millions of lonely TV watchers gives us a clue as to the power which could be wielded by an Internet TV station in a few year's time. As elsewhere, however, it is no good identifying a future opportunity if we do not follow it up with a practical programme to acquire the assets and skills

needed to take the first few steps on that particular road.

The need to identify opportunities brings me to a further area where I believe that the BNP needs to create new structures to enable it to fulfill its potential. While the leadership principle which underlies its constitution is clearly superior to committee-rule, both in terms of the potential for speed of action and resistance to factionalism, it does have the big drawback that, in a world where technological progress is increasing exponentially, no one person can possibly keep abreast of all the possibilities for future development which arise as a result. Leadership in the modern world is less and less about day-to-day control and more and more about providing inspiration, looking for opportunities in the big picture, and training and delegating to build a guided team.

A Research and Development group will be a start, but even that doesn't go far enough, particularly as the changing political climate takes us beyond the 'keep the hardcore together' imperative of the lean 1980s and into a period of unbounded potential for a well-led nationalist movement. The R&D team should therefore be only a part of a broader advisory Leadership Think-Tank, which should meet every few months. While the party chairman must always retain the constitutional right to ignore its proposals and advice, it would in fact be a foolish leader who would do so, save in very exceptional circumstances.

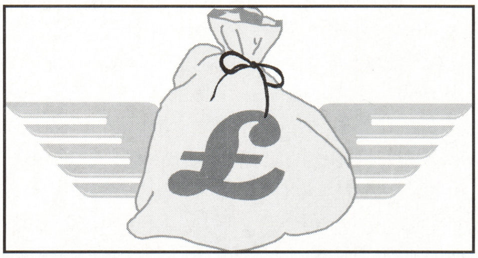
Such a leadership team would inevitably produce a whole range of exciting ideas for spreading the party's reach into new areas and with new techniques. These ideas will in turn require money if they are to be put into practice, which is just one of the reasons why the party's finances also need to step beyond the 'potter along as we are' comfort-zone which it is all too easy for any leadership to fall into. The BNP urgently needs to bring together a fund-raising team, and to boost the prestige of the treasurer at every level of the party.

Local units need to be provided with the training and incentives to become much better at raising money and, in return (and in order to comply with the forthcoming legislation on the registration of political parties) the party centre must provide audited accounts. This goes beyond a simple question of money and accountability, and brings us back to the need for professionalism. The BNP is a holy crusade to save and rebuild all we hold dear, but it is also a business. So it must be run on business lines. That doesn't mean putting accountants or bureaucrats in charge, but it does mean setting targets, monitoring progress, identifying failures, and creating the management structures which allow us to do such things.

All the above will give us an increasingly broad base for external political advances and electoral success. At the same time, there can be little doubt that external circumstances will continue to move our way. It may still take some time before this translates into significantly higher votes but, even in the meantime, elections — especially those which involve the distribution of huge numbers of leaflets — produce recruits. Accordingly, we must contest them as widely as is practically possible, including in the case of new bodies such as the London Assembly, mayorial posts and such like.

ELECTIONS

My arguments against involvement in elections in the mid-1980s are still occasionally recycled by mischief-makers seeking to undermine the BNP's growth or to cover up their own cowardice. As already pointed out, however, those were different times and very different circumstances. Furthermore, it is at least possible that I was wrong even then. Certainly, it is notable that the 'no parliamentary road' groups have, without exception, stagnated. Well, the trick in life is not to avoid mistakes, but to learn from them and to avoid repeating them. While it is true that elections are an expensive way to get recruits, they — and the effort and publicity which surrounds them — remain the most effective way. 'Flying column' teams targeting new areas, counter-power initiatives, Internet recruitment and so on, all undoubtedly have roles in building the party, but as ways of reaching large numbers of the public in short periods of time, elections are likely to remain king for the foreseeable future.



Money: Not vulgar but absolutely essential. The party needs to overcome inhibitions about it — and make more of it!

What message and image should we be aiming to get across in those elections? For the public as a whole we must keep it simple and put things across in the least controversial way possible. Of course, we must teach the truth to the hardcore, for, like you, I do not intend to allow this movement to lose its way. But when it comes to influencing the public, forget about racial differences, genetics, Zionism, historical revisionism and so on — all ordinary people want to know is what we can do for them that the other parties can't or won't.

Let's keep it simple and, until someone comes up with something better, base our propaganda on the four key words which I identified last year: **Freedom** (which covers opposition to the EU, foreign entanglements, petty bureacuracy and such like); **Democracy** (whereby the wishes of the majority of the people prevail on vital issues such as immigration and capital punishment, in sharp contrast to the corruption of the metropolitan liberal elite); **Security** (from crime as well as from the unemployment and chronic economic insecurity produced by globalism); and **Identity** (a term which raises all the issues connected with mass immigration without touching off the negative Pavlovian conditioning which decades of brainwashing have associated with the word 'race').

With an increasingly professional organisation, one which puts its responsibility to the past heroes and the unborn innocents of this land before the empty satisfaction of sloganising, we can approach things from a hundred different angles and on subjects which affect any given target group personally but, wherever we start, we should always finish up hammering away to create links between the BNP and those four idealistic, unobjectionable, motherhood and apple pie concepts.

In the end, though, the most important word of all is one which relates to our own attitude: Ambition. We must have it. Ambition which is strong enough to get us out of the comfort zones with which all individuals and organisations surround themselves and strong enough to inspire others to do the same. Ambition which is strong enough to make us try new and audacious tactics. Ambition which burns away the paralysing fear of failure and replaces it with the will to win.

In the earlier part of the twentieth century in Britain at least, the public did at least have some real choice between the main parties — free trade or protection, Ulster or a United Ireland, Empire or anti-colonialism,

private capitalism or Clause 4 nationalisation.

Now there is no choice. Consensus is openly admitted by serious commentators in mainstream newspapers to be little short of a conspiracy to deny the public a choice on the truly great issues of the day — the relentless move to a federal Europe; abolition of capital punishment; the imposition of political correctness on the media, schools and every institution in the land; Britain's ruinous exposure to the forces of globalisation; and, above all, immigration.

If democracy is a system under which the common man rules, then all the great problems which threaten the very existence of our race and nation are the consequence, not of democracy, but of its absence. Britain is not and has not been for many years, a democracy. It might be termed an elective oligarchy, an elective dictatorship, a plutocracy, or a media-ocracy, but most certainly it is **not** a democracy.

Parallel with this is that the Establishment wants nothing better than to be able to present us to the public in a box of our own, neatly labelled 'Anti-democratic extremists'. The time has come for us to cease merely uttering denials, but to challenge the very terminology they use in their one-sided political character assassination. Yes of course they will still lie about us, but we can make sure that everything they say is 100% untrue. What **we** do, say, write and believe ourselves is, in the long run, the crucial factor which will decide whether the public believe what they hear about us.

So, since, as we have seen from the above, Britain would be far better off were we to truly have a democratic system; and it is known that a fast growing minority of the British people already understand that we do not have one. Appealing to these disgruntled people by proposing as a cure for the present lack of democracy some sort of benign semi-dictatorship is simply not going to work! It's time to use the weight of 'democracy's' own myths and expectations against it by side-stepping and using verbal judo techniques.

Not only are we not 'anti-democratic', but we are in reality the only democrats. We are the only people who say what countless millions think. We are the only people who will do what countless millions want done. On all the key issues, we really do represent the wishes of the people. So why should we do anything other than embrace democracy wholeheartedly?

And what of our opponents? The people who hold the multi-racial state in such exalted worship that there is no infamy to which they will not stoop to preserve it for a little longer from its own fatal contradictions? The people who deny us the right-to-reply and to broadcasting time that we would guarantee to spokesmen of every and all political persuasions? The people who organise frenzied mobs to try to: attack our election candidates, close down our meetings, and march on our premises with the stated intention of tearing them down brick-by-brick? The people who order their political police to tap our phones, steal our computers, imprison our leaders and use *agents provocateurs* to sow dissension in our ranks? Are these tactics democratic? No. What are they? By any genuine understanding of the term they are, quite simply, **fascist** — And these people who employ such tactics are fascists. Fascists! Not us, but Blair, Ashdown, Hague, Condon, the worthies of the Guardian Trust, Michael Grade *et al*. They are all, in the dictionary definition of the term, fascists, although with the characteristic deceit and hypocrisy of their kind they leave the beatings and castor oil for dissidents to others.

So rather than endlessly denying their endless charges that we are fascists, we should take every opportunity to use the label against them. We cannot, in truth, call them 'Nazis' because National Socialism was based on worship of race, which — except for the Zionists — is clearly not something of which they can justly be accused. But their worship of the liberal multi-cultural state is plain for all to see.

Mention of National Socialism brings us to another point. In the '30s, the Nazis seized upon the new technologies of the day: the recent invention of the spotlight, loudspeaker systems and radio made it almost inevitable that their movement would make use of huge rallies and the spoken word. But loudspeakers and radio speeches are old hat now. The public are disenchanted even of watching well-fed elderly men deciding their destinies at meetings covered briefly by TV news. There is a growing dissatisfaction with the remoteness of all this, and its unsatisfactory results. But within the next five years, ten at the most, the continued march of information technology into every home will give, to any would-be revolutionary force which cares to grasp it, an unprecedented opportunity to remodel our entire system of government. Every telephone and every TV will be capable of relaying information about an issue, and in registering the opinion of its owner.

It now seems to be generally accepted that it would be in order for Britain to hold another referendum over whether or not to hand more sovereignty to Brussels. Fair enough. How about a referendum on capital punishment then? On whether to allow imports from China to destroy our manufacturing base? On continued immigration?

Of course, steps would have to be taken to create a level playing field in such debates. One of the recommendations of Labour's recent study into political reforms includes equal government financing for referenda. That's a start — and an opening, particularly since Labour ministers have rejected the level playing field concept! Other BNP proposals could be that the media be bound by strict rules of impartiality, the right-of-reply enshrined in law, and enforced without fear or favour by independent regulatory bodies. In other words, the proposals for genuine freedom of speech made at the last election by the BNP, and the BNP alone. But wouldn't we be far more likely to get a chance to turn those proposals, and all our other policies, into reality, if we hammered out such a programme into a genuine and crystal clear commitment to freedom and democracy which would leave our liberal opponents exposed as the closet totalitarians they really are? We must aim to seize the mantle long let go by the Liberals as the Party of British freedom. We should make it clear that the British National Party is the Freedom Party, the BNP is the Democracy Party. In doing so, we will capture the moral high ground. Sounds absurd? So was the idea of a nationalist winning a British election until the application of new ideas, fresh tactics and a whole new approach was tried and found to win at Millwall. The key to nationalist political advancement is to find new avenues, try fresh approaches.

Right now, our rulers are chipping away at our judicial system — the elimination of jury challenge is already a fact, and now the elimination of jury trials for some accused is the next step on the way to tyranny. Our right to own books of which they disapprove, and our right to bring our children up with the values we learned from our parents are also under threat. **We should shout it from the rooftops: THEY ARE THE TYRANTS, we are the ones who stand for freedom.**

To fight this creeping evil we do not need to look for models abroad. As our alternatives to elective dictatorship and creeping tyranny we should proudly and loudly propose direct democracy and freedom!

FRANCE AND THE *FN*, BRITAIN AND THE BNP

A special *Patriot* look at recent events

The example of the *Front National* has long been held up as a good one to follow given their professionalism, their ability to make nationalism saleable and, of course, their notable success. How quickly things change! Everyone will now know that the party in France has undergone a catastrophic split. The latest news on this is that there are now **two** *Front Nationals*! The leading protagonists in this disaster are *FN* leader Jean-Marie Le Pen and his chief strategist, Bruno Mégret.

Le Pen has led the party since 1972 and Mégret has, in recent years, implemented a number of stunningly successful ideas culminating in the 'wreckage' of the traditional right and the opening up of the way for the *Front* to go mainstream. Mégret has also been tipped for a while now to be Le Pen's eventual successor.

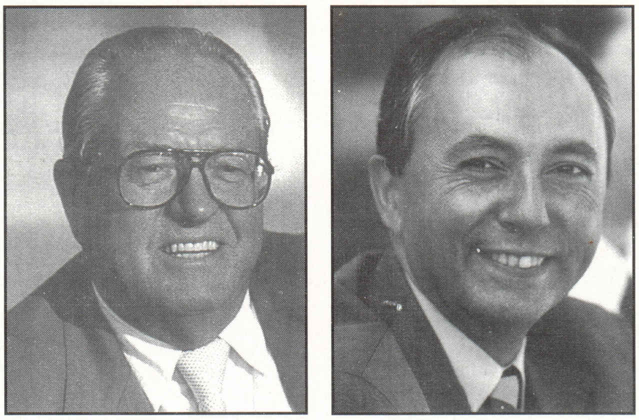
It is ironic given the greater success of the *FN* compared to that of the BNP that the leaders of the *Front* could have done a lot worse than ask almost any member of the BNP as to what they ought to have done and crucially, what they ought not to have done.

Mégret was increasingly dissatisfied with his boss, but said (and did) nothing when Le Pen went to his party to receive yet another three year mandate to lead it.

Le Pen, increasingly under pressure from Mégret's supporters snapped just before Christmas and expelled Mégret and half of the *FN*'s central political bureau — the *Front*'s top decision-making body, effectively splitting the *Front National*.

Since then, Mégret has held an extraordinary national congress and has had himself elected President of the new *FN*. Incredibly, both Le Pen and Mégret claim the crisis is over!

The latest on this is that the affair will now be decided by the courts. If the court decides that Mégret acted constitutionally in calling for the extraordinary national congress then Mégret will have title to the name *Front National*, the party's assets and everything else that entails. Le Pen would be finished.



Doing it wrong: Le Pen and Mégret

If, on the other hand, the courts decide otherwise, then Le Pen will continue as before, but without his talented ex-deputy. In the meantime, many members will drop out in disillusionment and many voters will abandon the two *FNs* because of their disunity, and the *Front*'s combined vote will undoubtedly sink.

To call events in France disastrous is to understate the case. Only time will tell the outcome both for the *Front* and for its eventual prospects.

Doing it right: Griffin and Tyndall

Here in Britain, the party's Director of Publicity Nick Griffin, 40, has put forward his nomination for the leadership of the BNP. He has put his cards upon the table openly and honestly, unlike the foolish Mégret who, though good at his job, made the mistake of sniping at the *Front*'s elected leader.

The BNP's incumbent Chairman, Mr. John Tyndall, 65, has also acted with integrity by accepting the challenge and vowing to accept the verdict of the members later on in the summer. Like Mr. Griffin, Mr. Tyndall's actions were of a higher standard than that of his opposite number in France, M. Le Pen. No one has been expelled, there is, and will be, no split and there is no name calling. There is to be a leadership election provided for in the party's constitution, that is all. It happens elsewhere in other organisations all the time.

The reason that Mr. Griffin's nomination has caused surprise is that, to date, Mr. Tyndall has never before been so challenged. It is a remarkable fact that whoever wins the party's leadership election to be held between July and September; that person will be the party's first ever democratically elected Leader since the party formed seventeen years ago, when Mr. Tyndall was unanimously declared leader by the assembled delegates.

The comparison between France and Britain with the *FN* and the BNP is, for the first time in a long while, a good one.

Everyone is looking forward to a good clean contest in late summer. In the meantime, there is a European Election to fight and in many areas, council seats up for grabs as well. These are the priority. The issue of the BNP leadership will wait until after the European Elections.

FRIENDS?

JACKIE COOK urges a more caring face for the BNP

One of the most popular current cheap American imports is the TV series *Friends*, a soap about a group of middle class Americans who all love each other. They live, sleep and breath for each other. All nauseatingly sickly, but is it? The programme attracts many viewers — sad lonely people who also go out and buy *Friends* merchandise, whether that be pens, T-shirts or videos. Why ? Because it makes them feel part of something bigger — a family, a team. They too are loved, cherished and made to feel valued.

So? Do members of the BNP feel loved, cherished or valued? Do they want to? Answers: No and Yes. At all levels of nationalist politics for literally decades, most of those in charge have treated their bands of volunteers as robots or cannon-fodder, wearing them out with repeated demands for sacrifice for little apparent return. Do people want to be treated like this? The fact that the nationalist movement's membership figures have been likened to a bath with the taps full on but the plug out suggests not.

Most management training books will spend pages explaining that you will get more from your team and they perform better if they are made to feel that the company or business actually needs them as individuals. Hence all the team-building corporate weekends climbing mountains, discovering how you all work. A group that plays together well also works together well. Within those courses companies are looking out for **leaders**, innovators who are highly motivated, far-seeing, with the ability to make quick decisions and tell others what to do.

But having leaders isn't enough, for at all levels they have to be surrounded by a real **team**. So corporate training courses also aim to identify those who can actually get a plan of action into being. They may not be as highly motivated as the leaders, but without this group — known as **early adopters** — the innovators will have no one to lead. Another important figure in every team is the **carer**, the one who ensures everyone is there in the right place at the right time, that everyone knows that their contribution is valued, and that if they encounter problems they won't be left to sort them out alone.

Of course, it is easier to criticise than to be positive, so let's turn to a few constructive ways in which I believe the BNP could adopt a more 'user-friendly' approach. After all, the party will always have to call for sacrifices of all kinds in order to make progress, so ways must be found to 'sugar the pill'.

Years ago, I was involved with a group called the Nationalist Welfare Association (NWA). This was a group affiliated to the 1980s National Front. Its aims were to offer support to members of the party and their families who found themselves in difficulty because of politics. In practice this was mainly members who had been fined for opposing pro-IRA marches, for stickering, and others — including those who fell foul of the Race Laws — who found themselves in prison. The NWA paid about one-third of the fines of those it agreed to help. Activists who had contributed regularly to NWA funds before their own legal problems arose were helped more generously still. Over several years thousands of pounds were raised and handed out to deserving cases.

For the far smaller number of prisoners, support was more basic — a good booze-up when they got out! Remember that the main body of the NF at that time was young single lads to whom this was just the support they wanted. But it did give some regular financial, and some emotional support to those who found themselves without their partner for a stretch of time. Wives or girlfriends were visited, taken out, given lifts to and from prison or helped with shopping. They were made to feel valued, it may not actually be them on the inside, but their contribution to the cause needs to be acknowledged.

With hindsight, perhaps not enough was done, but we were learning as we went along. Certainly the NWA only

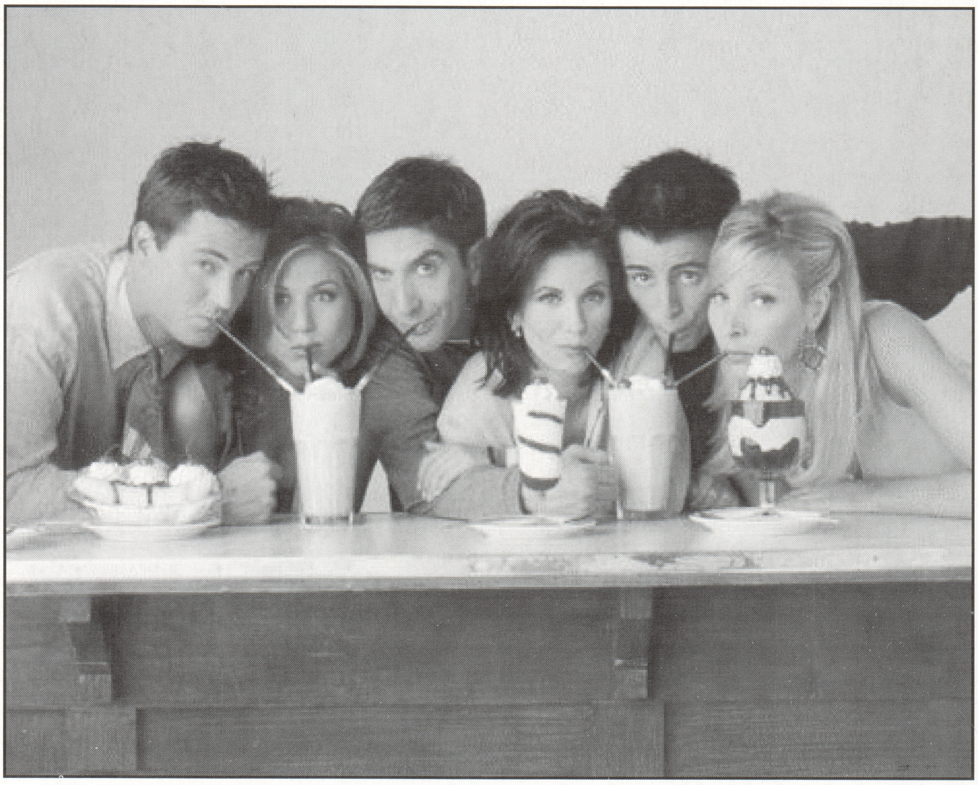
Nicola Horlick: High-earning career woman and mother. Women need to be taken account of.

considered the cases of those with legal difficulties. Yet this is only ever a small proportion of people. What wears down most activists — and their partners, who may not even be political — tends to be much more mundane, a combination of feeling they're banging their heads against a brick wall and that no one appreciates their efforts and the constant little sacrifices which add up. This is where the BNP needs to find the carers in its team.

At every level, there should be someone with the responsibility of contacting other team members and subordinate officials and activists from time to time just to see how they're feeling and getting on, just to make the personal contact which shows that the organisation cares. Simple cards sent for critical life incidents, such as family events both happy and sad, would cost next to nothing but would have a big effect on morale. A letter or card sent — even a bunch of flowers, really makes one feel someone has taken the time to show they care. It is a personal gift which is valued, and the person or the organisation which made the time to send it and show their feelings is valued in return.

It's vital to realise that nearly every activist and member is closely linked with someone who may not share all their enthusiasm for politics. These 'significant others' shouldn't be ignored, they need to be won over, at least to the point of understanding that the other people in the party are normal, decent human beings, with families and social lives of their own. A traditional nationalist view has been that men work, they are the hunters, while wives stay at home to tend to their needs on return. This is so far removed from the true picture of life now that it almost beggars belief that some still base their politics and organisation on it. Yes women may have taken jobs, yes they maybe pushing for more and more of the fat cat status. God forbid, they have even run the country. Perhaps there are those who feel that they have lost the way over the rearing of children, although, for all their faults, the likes of Nicola Horlick with her four children and even Cherie Booth/ Blair with her three, have shown that women can have rewarding and useful careers and still have children.

In many homes now, the female partner is either the main bread-winner, or at least on equal terms with her husband. This may not be liked, but it needs to recognised, because most political activists are still male, so behind more and more of them is a woman who needs to be involved in some way, or at least to know that she and the children will be helped and supported if politics brings any problems on the family. There needs to be a support network to help.



The cast of American soap opera Friends: All part of one big happy family

For this to happen the BNP has to look closely at itself. Does it want to take on the enormity of the change? Can it change? Does it even know how to change? Again, modern management theory tells us a lot about it: Change is a continuing process, it involves looking at the present and evaluating both good and bad areas. Once identified, problems need to be solved. Going back to the beginning, the innovator comes up with the ideas, the adopters see the need to change, and take it on board, while the carer sees that everyone feels valued, by helping others with the change. There is no point in any one person dictating a change which will not happen, or if it does it will be superficial. Change which comes from within — be that on an individual basis or on a group/party basis — is both worthwhile and will stand the test of time.

As well as the kind of organisation and attitude changes outlined above, the BNP has to continue with the process of changing its image. To do that it has to fundamentally change itself first. Without a founded change the new face will slip. Both Blair and now Hague have seen the importance of image in modern politics, and the fact that determined efforts can change it. Just because we may laugh at the Tories' pitiful efforts does not alter the fact that they are right to see the need to change something to avoid being thrown into political oblivion.

Part of the change of image needed by the BNP is to come across to women not as something which threatens to bring problems to their doorstep, but as an organisation which helps its own members, their families and, in time, their communities. As the popularity of *Friends* and all the other soaps proves, more than anything else today people need to belong to a group which recognises them and shares their values. If it actually helps them as well, their willingness to put up with things for that group to progress will be even greater. Supporting those already involved in ways such as mentioned above is just the beginning of a long job.

So how to offer this support? BNP officials need to get out and about ('networking' is the trendy word) they need to make themselves known. Not just to 'key members' — who are these people anyway? *Everyone* in the BNP is a key person because they have chosen to get involved. But also members' families; get to know who is important to them. You never know when you yourself may need their help, which is why the need to be part of a team is part of human nature. Let's use it, not fight it!

Reference: Innovativeness and adopter categories. Chapter 7 *Diffusion of Innovations*. Everett Rogers. Free Press, London.

AGENTS PROVOCATEURS AND DESTABILISATION

NICK GRIFFIN recounts some hard won lessons (part 2)

The *Cook Report* affair (detailed in the last issue of *Patriot*) raised extremely important questions about the relationship between the media and MI5, Britain's secret political police. It provides a tantalising and highly instructive glimpse into the involvement of the secret service in many years of effort to divide and isolate British nationalists.

The very first purpose of almost any newspaper or television station in a capitalist society is to make money. And stories about 'right-wing extremists' sell papers and interest viewers. As the lowest-grade, sensationalist 'investigative' TV show, it was only natural that the *Cook Report* would be interested in a story about 'BNP extremists'.

But there is much more to this operation than the show's producer putting a list of possible targets into a hat and seeing which ones he pulls out. To start with, there is no possibility that the backroom boys who help plan each series would know anything like enough about the British nationalist movement to dream up such a plot. Clearly they received both an initial tip-off and, once they had agreed to run the story, a great deal of help in setting it up. So who could have provided such information?

The initial, simplistic, answer is, of course, Gerry Gable, editor of the 'anti-fascist' magazine *Searchlight*. This former Communist Party candidate is also a Zionist, either of which ideologies by itself would be sufficient to make him a committed opponent of white nationalism. In addition to this, *Searchlight* is Gable's livelihood. Quite simply, if there wasn't a 'fascist threat', he would have to invent one.

There is no doubt that Gable was involved in the *Cook Report* operation, and he was duly credited in the programme. As already noted, it was the appearance of disinformation snippets about the *FN* in several issues of *Searchlight* which, far from reassuring the intended victims of the scam, was one of the earliest indications that the approach was a hoax.

Nevertheless, Gable is merely a front-man, not even just a small cog in the immensely powerful Zionist lobby. He is also a very useful and plausibly deniable tool of the Establishment which, even if every Zionist in the world vanished tomorrow, would still oppose nationalism.

The writer believes that analysis of the events already described, together with a study of various parallels in the history of the national movement, shows that the determined and co-ordinated assault on the BNP did not originate with the minor player Gerry Gable, but with the secret political police — MI5.

Whereas the better-known Special Branch exists to keep an eye on 'political extremists' on the ground, MI5's role is more long-term. British experience of 'subversion', from the emergencies in Kenya and Malaya to the prolonged struggle in Northern Ireland, has confirmed within the British security services the vital importance of preventing challenges to their masters' rule before they even occur. The crucial theoretical basis for this doctrine was provided by Major-General Frank Kitson.

With the collapse of the Soviet Union and with MI5 trying to prove its continuing usefulness, it was only to be expected that the British National Party would become a prime target for destabilisation and black propaganda operations run by MI5. That, after all, is what it's there for.

The purpose of this article is to show that the *Cook Report* hoax was a part of just such an MI5 operation, designed to create a split within the BNP so that it could not take advantage of any post-election membership expansion nor be able to build a more effective party organisation.

Is this a realistic scenario, or is it paranoia? In order to answer this question, it is useful to peer into the history of nationalism.

A common theme has been planted media stories to create internal tensions. As early as 1970 Martin Walker, author of *The National Front*, noted of one of the earlier divisions that:-

'some of the news leaked out, enough to raise tiny stories in the press about a split in the

The grotesque Stalinist-like MI5 building on London's south bank

Ray Hill, seen here addressing a BNP meeting, sold out nationalism for money

movement between Powellites and the rest.'

Such a comment provokes several questions: How did news 'leak out'? And why did individual journalists and editors — who had already established a general rule of not giving any more publicity to the NF than they had to — run such 'tiny stories'? Not to sell papers, that's for sure.

A further two years into the story, Walker mentions similar events:-

> '...as early as February, just before the general election, press speculation about this new division in the NF was beginning. In particular *The Guardian*, which was covering the election campaign of Roy Painter, began to talk of the emergence of a populist wing of the NF, and began to talk of Painter as its leader.'

Once again, it has to be asked where the information for such stories, which were written by Walker himself, came from. If the populists really were planning to take over the NF it certainly wasn't in their interests to have their plans splashed across the columns of a hostile newspaper. Nor was it the leadership's interest to have such alarming stories when they were striving to get enough candidates in the general election to obtain a TV broadcast

The second general election of 1974 brought another NF TV broadcast, and another wave of follow-ups which needed urgent work if they were to be turned into members. Yet the squabbling and factionalism which broke out immediately after the election meant that little constructive work was done. The party was split in a lopsided division which saw most of the young intellectuals and the majority of the experienced political campaigners who had been won from the political mainstream leave to form the National Party, while the majority of the rank-and-file stayed with the established leadership. The NF was left with huge holes in its middle management, while the NP was all chiefs and no Indians.

Walker makes the following observation:-

> 'Had the organisation not been split, had the opportunism of the NF leaders still been combined with the hard political skills of the NP, the summer of 1976 might have been very much uglier. The split came at a fortunate time for British race relations.'

In spite of these problems, May's council elections saw big increases in the nationalist vote. The NP won two seats in Blackburn in a campaign in which the Conservatives

Paul Kavanagh: Faction master operated business front

stood down in order to avoid splitting the anti-Labour vote. The NF also did extremely well, with particularly good results in Leicester, where its average vote was 18.5 per cent and just missed unseating the Labour Mayoress in its best ward.

Such results were dramatic and, to a system which had invested a great deal of energy in creating a multi-racial society, very worrying — the 'extremists' were no longer isolated, they were talking to and getting the support of real people.

The 1979 General Election was a huge disappointment for the NF. Contesting more than 300 seats, much had been expected. But Thatcher's carefully-cultivated 'right-wing' image had persuaded large numbers of NF voters to go over to the Tories.

Humiliated NF candidates and naive members looked around for scapegoats and a cleverly-organised campaign of subversion supplied them. Pictures illustrating the youthful errors of several of the national leadership, complete with foreign-looking armbands, had featured heavily in the intensive smear campaign which had been run by the Labour Party, the Anti-Nazi League and sections of the media for several years. Such propaganda had been used more intensively throughout the far more successful local election campaigns and parliamentary by-elections from 1976-78, during which it seemed to have had little impact, but a new populist wing now used worries over the material to whip up hostility to the leadership. In addition to these damaging photos, there were revelations about Martin Webster's homosexuality. A wave of disturbing rumour swept through the party.

At first sight it appears possible to lay all this at the door of the disappointed, the malcontents and the personally ambitious climbers who exist in every organisation and who will crawl out of the woodwork to cause trouble at the first opportunity. Two crucial facts, however, suggests that such a view is naively inaccurate. The leading figure in the destruction of the NF in its East London stronghold was Paul Kavanagh, who was supposed to run an engineering equipment business. Throughout the faction-ridden summer of 1979, however, a member of the Young NF, Pat Harrington, was employed by Kavanagh to operate the switchboard at his business office. This was a mistake by Kavanagh, for Harrington actually sided with the party's elected leadership and was able to pass back details of who was in touch with the faction-master and what was going on. **But what is more interesting is that, throughout that whole summer, Kavanagh did not receive a single business-related telephone call!** The business was simply a front generating no income. Who was paying the bills, which in Kavanagh's case included the cost of a flat in the exclusive Barbican development? Since Kavanagh had been a member since 1972, this indicates the placing of a high-

level 'sleeper' and his activation at a crucial point. Such a long-running and costly operation could only be the work of a national security service, probably 'ours' (A whole raft of official papers have been released detailing the security service's attempts to disrupt Mosley's BUF in the 1930s).

WRECK AND RUIN

Whoever was responsible, Kavanagh did his work well. Not only did he create the break-away Tory-populist NF Constitutional Movement (CM), but he and his allies gained control of Excalibur House, the prestige headquarters which the NF had bought at the height of its organisational fortunes.

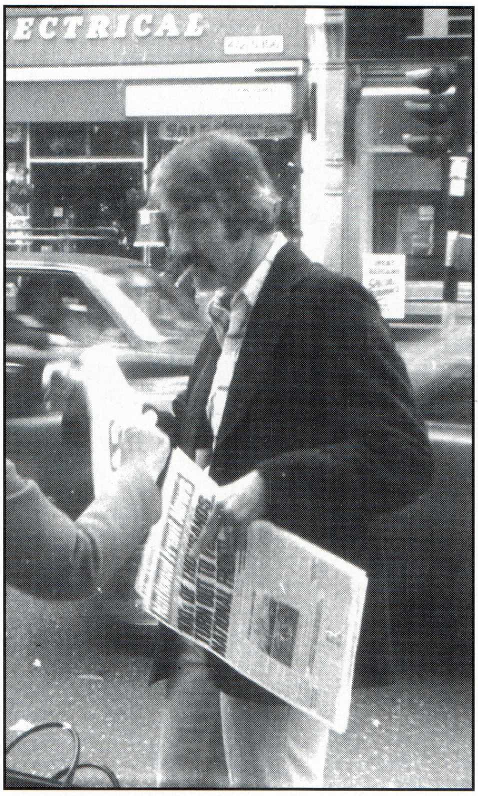
Worse was the damage to morale. In particular, there was a drastic loss of members both in the East End heartland and among the relatively well-to-do middle class element who had been recruited in significant numbers during the late '70s.

The damage was compounded by similar developments in the key East Midlands region. Headquarters buildings had been purchased in both Leicester and Nottingham, and here too both were lost. The key figure in this split, which led to the formation of the short-lived British Democratic Party, was Anthony Read-Herbert, the young lawyer whose campaigning skills had done so much to achieve the stunning local election results in Leicester in 1976. There is no doubt that Reed-Herbert, though misguided in his actions, was at least a genuine nationalist. But he was manipulated by Ray Hill, now known to have been a long term state operative, who spent most of the months between his hasty return from South Africa and the BDP split in Read-Herbert's office. Having encouraged Reed-Herbert to break away and set up his own 'respectable' nationalist organisation, Hill then helped to set his friend up in a crude media scam. Reed-Herbert was introduced to an American who claimed to be interested in buying guns, and to have access to radio broadcasting equipment. Hill knew that the idea of a nationalist pirate radio station had long been a pet project of Reed-Herbert's and was probably the person who suggested that Reed-Herbert should play the American along. The Leicester lawyer, of course, had no access to the guns of which he spoke to the American, but hoped to get his hands on the radio equipment before this became apparent. Reed-Herbert's wild 'offer' was secretly recorded by a TV crew and presented as true by a devastating TV smear 'Guns to the Right.' Struck off by the Law Society and under police investigation, Reed-Herbert fled to Southern Ireland with the proceeds of the sale of the headquarters buildings. The powerful NF organisation which had been so labouriously built up collapsed in ruin.

Ray Hill: Traitor

Hill, of course, is nominally *Searchlight's* prize 'mole', so it is possible that the mixture of flattery and deceit which encouraged Reed-Herbert to set up his own party, and the subsequent TV scam which ensured its prompt demise, was purely the work of *Searchlight*, backed by the Zionist lobby to which Hill had supposedly sold his soul while with the National Front of South Africa. But it is interesting that sections of the mainstream press gave useful publicity puffs to the new BDP, writing it up as a bigger potential threat than the smear-tainted NF. This was a distinct departure from the established media policy never to carry stories which portray white nationalist groups in a good light. Its purpose was obvious: to encourage wavering members to go over to Reed-Herbert, thereby making the split even more damaging to the NF. Granted *Searchlight* would be aware of the value of such a trick, but is it really likely that *Searchlight* has so much clout with newspaper editors that it can simply ring them up and tell them to run stories which break both NUJ guidelines and their own editorial policy? On the other hand, as we will see in detail later, just such a relationship exists between newspaper editors and the security services.

A further clue is given in the way in which, when Hill 'came out' as having turned his coat when he participated in another smear — this time against the British National Party, it was **several months** before he turned up in the pages of *Searchlight* as supposedly having been run by Gerry Gable. Why the gap? Answer: the '*Searchlight* mole' story was concocted **after** the event as belated cover for the fact that he was actually working for the police. Hill as a *Searchlight* mole was a mutually beneficial story. *Searchlight* gained kudos for 'it's' coup and Hill gained 'credibility' as an 'anti-fascist' in time to promote 'his' new book.



'Ronnie Graham' alias Ronald White: infiltrated Leeds NF for **Searchlight**

The collapsing NF soon convinced John Tyndall that the time had come to set up a new organisation with a constitution which did not invite factionalism. By 1980, therefore, the party which not so long before had appeared poised to eclipse the Liberals as Britain's third largest political machine had been devastated in a four-way split.

The rump NF made a good deal of progress from 1983 to 1986. Attendance at the annual Remembrance Day parade climbed back to several thousand members and supporters. Sales of *NF News* reached 14,000 per issue, with some 4,000 of those being sold in Ulster, by a strong and growing network of local units there — a prize that eluded any British nationalist organisation before or since. Given the size of the loyalist population, this made the NF an important voice, and it was the only one which offered a coherent strategy whereby rank-and-file loyalists could do something positive to strengthen their position. The NF programme maintained that since the British establishment was determined to hand Northern Ireland over to Dublin rule, the only way in which Ulster could preserve her British identity was, paradoxically, to become independent. This remains a controversial position, but it has been taken up by a larger number of loyalists since then. However, the NF was the first and only organisation to articulate ways in which, through rent-strikes and community self-help, loyalists could start taking action

to weaken the hold of the Westminster and Whitehall traitors on their land and future.

Suddenly, a massive proportion of NF mail and parcels of propaganda either vanished or, in the case of parcels of *NF News* bound for Ulster, arrived a month late several months in succession. The party's 'literature run' was therefore extended to include the ferry crossing to Larne. In response, the police raided the homes of the key activists and organisers in Larne and Belfast, holding them under the Prevention of Terrorism Act. The four who were the kingpins of the massive sales rounds in Belfast were arrested on trumped-up charges and received savage prison sentences having been framed for part of the widespread loyalist campaign of petrol bomb attacks against the homes of the RUC officers who were enforcing the Anglo-Irish Agreement.

By no means all loyalists were upset by the resulting publicity, but it was a devastating blow to the party's organisation and ability to spread its message, and it undoubtedly damaged the reputation which the NF had developed for offering constructive and sensible political proposals which, if taken up, could have handed the loyalists an even bigger victory than the Ulster Workers' Council strike of 1974.

Thus external attacks by several state agencies, as well as some internal factionalism, broke one of the strongest links ever forged between a British nationalist campaign and a politically awoken population.

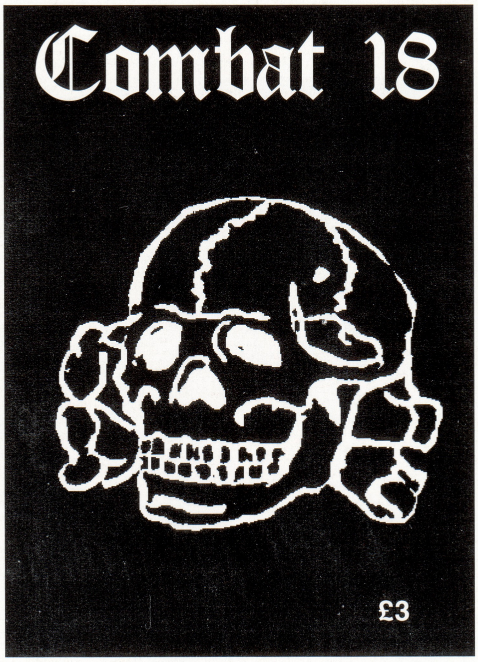
BRITISH NATIONAL PARTY

Having out-distanced all the other fragments of the 1970s NF, the BNP entered the 1990s in a position to re-connect with the public at grass-roots level. The typical rowdy public meeting tactics of the 1980s — which had been designed primarily to win over or to hold people who were already in the nationalist camp — began to give way to a second phase of development, particularly in the East End of London, where a small group of BNP activists began the move back to community politics with a 'Rights for Whites' campaign which, after a march and several high-profile public meetings had created the initial momentum, was more about knocking on doors and talking to people.

BNP votes in the area started to climb, culminating in Derek Beackon's famous victory at Millwall. Even when the seat was lost at the subsequent full council elections, Beackon's vote rose substantially, while the BNP vote in other East End seats rocketed. Once again, it was clear that racial nationalism was threatening to break out of its ghetto and to connect with ordinary people.

Yet at the very moment when the Millwall triumph showed what could be done through a combination of local work and electioneering, there emerged from nowhere a major problem for the BNP, once again from what was supposed to be the same side of the political fence.

Readers overseas need to understand that the BNP has a constitution which, learning from the long history of NF splits and power struggles, placed ultimate control over the party and its assets in the hands of its elected leader alone, thus making the party fairly split-proof.



C18 produced magazines exhorting violence alongside bomb-making tips

So any disruption of the BNP had to come from the outside. Yet any large-scale attacks by either Marxist, Zionists or the state's legal apparatus would only serve to confirm the impression that the BNP was being taken seriously, which in turn would further boost the cohesiveness of its membership and encourage many temporarily inactive nationalists to rejoin the struggle. So what was done instead came straight out of the pages of Kitson's work on pseudo-gangs. An organisation called Combat 18 sprang up, fronted by a group of people who had been expelled from British Movement some years before, and who had done nothing except acquire drugs convictions and a reputation for psychotic violence, until the death of Ian Stuart in a car crash provided them with the chance to muscle in on the 'Blood & Honour' skinhead music scene. Having secured that base through a mixture of lies and intimidation, they started to target the political side of the movement. At first pretending to be willing to offer assistance to the BNP in fending off attacks by the extreme left, C18 quickly grew more and more hostile, with every of issue of its semi-literate publications coming out with outrageous lies. In addition, they continually hammered away with the claim that 'elections are a waste of time' and proposed an alternative 'strategy' of direct violent confrontation with the state. C18 magazines provided detailed bomb-making plans and urged supporters to attack not only 'Reds' and immigrants, but also senior police officers and politicians.

Naturally, they singled out John Tyndall for attack, but they also concentrated their efforts against precisely the group of people who had spearheaded the breakthrough in the East End. Eddy Butler, the BNP's National Elections Officer and the main inspiration for the victory at Millwall was a particular and favourite target.

As usual, it was possible that all this was a matter of the personal ambitions and resentments of individuals, rather than a plot by the people whose job is to keep nationalism in its own little box. But, equally, the timing of the trouble was even more suspicious than usual, because discontent is to be expected **after a defeat** such as the 1979 election campaign, but **not after an election victory.** Additionally, several other events point to the high-level official origins of the trouble.

First, there was the way in which C18 was blatantly boosted as a 'major threat' by a number of clearly planted media stories, while the group was used by Gable to promote his perpetual stories of nationalist division and extremism.

Second, while some of the C18 disruption operation displayed merely the low cunning and mental indiscipline of petty gangsters, certain aspects of it displayed great skill, forethought and knowledge of techniques which had been used years before in past factional in-fighting, of which C18's supposed leaders could have had no experience. When, for example, *Spearhead* launched the BNP's first broadside exposing C18's campaign of disruption, C18 immediately responded with pressure on East London BNP units to refuse to distribute that issue, pointing out that, although supportive of the BNP, it was privately-owned and that there was no constitutional obligation to sell it. This was a trick straight

out of Paul Kavanagh's 1979 repertoire, well beyond the wit of people who couldn't spell 'constitution', let alone read and analyse one.

Third, C18 was in a perfect position to make maximum capital out of two much more serious incidents.

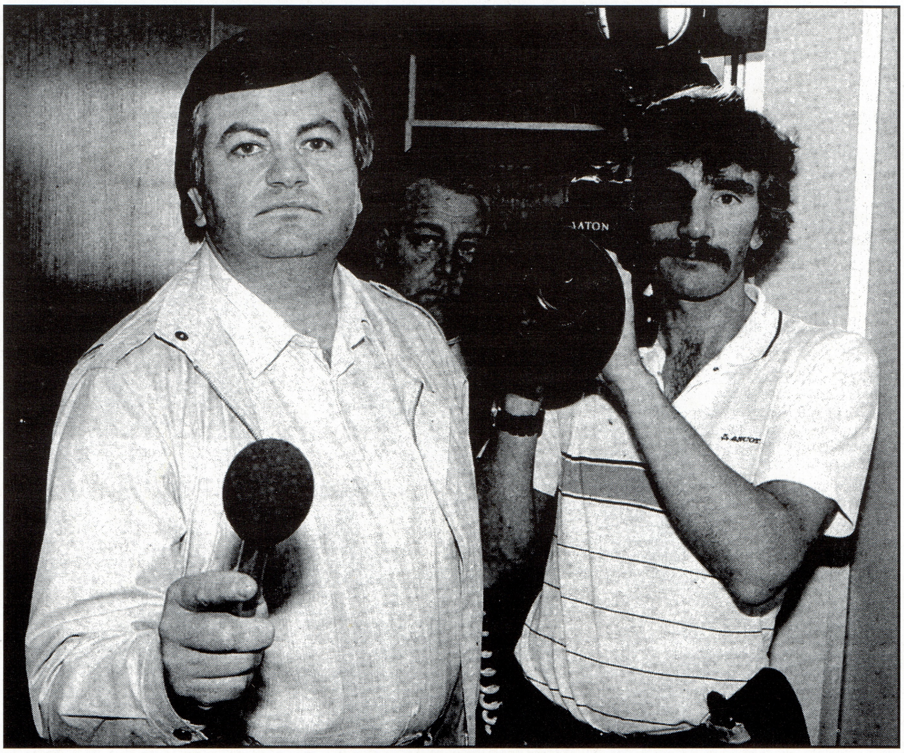
Firstly, in the summer of 1994, several men burst into the home of Alf Waite who was maintaining the national membership lists and made off with the computer on which the records were kept. Had the attack been carried out by Marxists or anarchists, some of the addresses would undoubtedly have turned up in their own publications, or been used as the basis of a 'hit-list' for the kind of petty terrorism which is their stock-in-trade. But no such thing happened. The mystery of where the lists had gone continued, broken only in 1996, when they were used for a mass mailshot by a transsexual crank who tried to launch an outfit called the British National Socialist Party. The aim of this was clearly to cause confusion over the name, and to damage morale as the BNP entered the crucial last few months which would decide whether or not it would reach its 50-seat target for the 1997 General Election. The fact that it didn't, the party did, and the absurd BNSP sank without trace is irrelevant. The question to be asked is who passed its sad founder the stolen BNP list, and who financed his politically-illiterate but expensive mailshot?

Secondly, an even more serious attack was carried out in 1994, at the home of BNP Press Officer Mike Newland. Three men burst in and knocked Mike unconscious. When he awoke he was tightly bound and gagged. He described two of the men as military, 'squaddie' types, while the boss of the team was a middle aged man in a blazer. This gives the lie to subsequent media red herrings which suggested that it was the work of C18. Mike was severely beaten and the attackers were clearly trained for such work, going about it with clinical coldness to do as much damage as possible without inflicting life-threatening injuries. Leaving the BNP man badly beaten, they took his computer and vanished.

Both of these episodes lent credence to C18's argument that a hard line against 'enemies' had to be taken and that the BNP wasn't about to mount such revenge attacks. Later, C18 ran out of lies and credibility, before itself falling apart in a bitter feud.

If one accepts, as do most informed observers (including, for example, the leftist civil libertarian Statewatch group) that C18 was guided at a very high level by the security services, it follows that — with their puppet broken — they would need fresh ways in which to achieve their objective of neutralising the BNP.

Which brings us to the *Cook Report*. As already suggested, this was not an isolated stunt dreamed up as the basis for a good story by Carlton TV, it was part of a much more ambitious operation to create yet another well-timed split in the nationalist movement. This conclusion is partly based on the many parallels between this operation and the past divisions already considered. But, for the first time, the opposition cock-up over the *Cook Report* has provided both strong circumstantial, and concrete, evidence of the involvement of the political police in such developments.



MI5 tools: Down-market media types, Cook & Co.

The most dramatic evidence of this emerged as a result of the police raids carried out against Paul Ballard and myself in connection with issue 12 of *The Rune*, in the course of which a civilian computer expert took a copy of my hard disk, in contrast to Paul's experience, where the officers simply took away both his computers. I returned straight way to the project on which I was working at the time — my part in the writing and design of *The Mind-Benders*, a BNP pamphlet about the disproportionate influence of powerful Jews over the mass media.

Since the intention to produce such a publication had been openly printed in *The Rune* some months before, I concluded that real reason for the raid must have been pressure from certain influential organisations and individuals to stop it appearing. Yet I still had it on disk and although the raid lasted about five hours, the officers only had time to glance at each file, or document as they picked it up, so the only way one of them could have known that particular file was important — both to me and the people behind the raid — was if they had been briefed to look for it. One of the officers must have had private objections to this attempted suppression of free speech and, when he happened to be the person to find on it, decided — at some risk to his career — to tuck it away where I would find it some time afterwards. On reflection, he had even tried to draw my attention to the place, by joking about the stack of envelopes: "I've got a pile like that at home as well."

Naturally, I was delighted both to have got back the photos, and at this evidence of sympathy in the police force. As a result of this stroke of good fortune, the magazine was able to appear, as scheduled, for the BNP's January 1997 rally. With the job out of the way, my mind turned, for quite some time, to other things.

Until, that is, we started to analyse the *Cook Report* operation. For many months, *Searchlight* had been carrying stories which took phrases and ideas from the on-off debate between *Patriot* editor Tony Lecomber and myself and used them to talk of a potential split. In one particular feature Gable wrote of the prospect of my 'taking over' the organisation. One of the people who would be most dismayed, he wrote,

would be Mike Newland, 'who would find it impossible to work with Griffin's obsessive anti-Semitism.'

Much the same story had even appeared in the national press. In the Observer of 5th January, 1997, under the heading 'Will it be boots and broadcasts for the BNP?' one Nick Cohen looked at the party's plans to contest 50 seats and its prospects thereafter and referred to me as 'a likely replacement for Tyndall.' He said that '1997 could be the year when British fascism makes something of a comeback', but also alleged that 'the leadership is torn by rivalry and disputes about tactics.' Any similarity between this article and the ones which we have already noted back in 1986 and 1975 is entirely intentional!

The bits of the jigsaw began to slot into place. Then, like a piece missing under the lid, I found another one. When I had asked the CID officer about the missing file, he had not only said that it hadn't been taken to the station, but had also suggested that it could have been picked up and misplaced in the course of the search and urged me to go home and have a thorough look for it!

MI5, PULLING THE STRINGS

So I was wrong. The *Mind-Benders* file had not been hidden away by a sympathetic officer when his colleagues' backs were turned (not really very likely, when you think about it), but they had been specifically briefed to leave it behind. More than one hundred files had been taken, yet the only two which had been left were this one and another, to which I will return shortly. This was no accident, and no gesture of support either. The local police clearly received orders from on high to leave that file behind, and to do what they could to ensure that I found it. The people who were in charge actually **wanted** the *Mind-Benders* to appear. If this conclusion seems too far-fetched, reflect also on the fact that, although they clearly knew that I was working on the project, the police left me with my computer, whereas both of Paul's were seized and taken away.

Why could this be? Because it was no doubt **believed** that the *Mind-Benders* **would** be a work of ranting 'obsessive anti-Semitism'! And that this would dismay and alarm party colleagues who had for several years urged that the BNP should 'clean up its act' in the manner of Le Pen and Haider and so on, and play the political game with more subtlety. In the event, *Who are the Mind-Benders* was not an 'anti-Semitic' rant, and MI5 were disappointed.

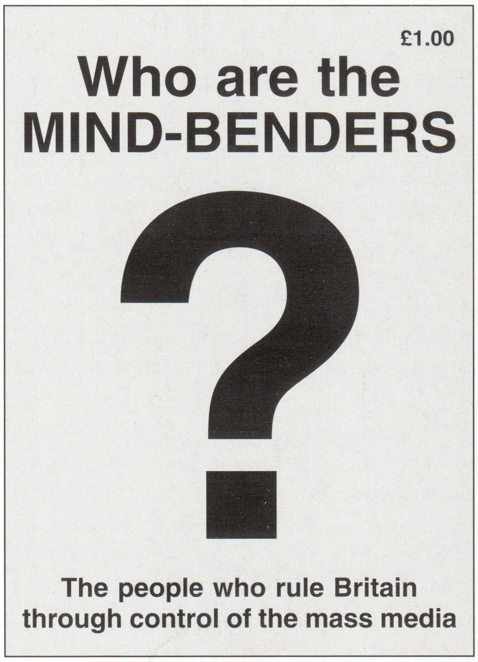
Still, the MI5 team which thought up the plan, which ordered the local police to leave behind the file and the computer, and which fed the storyline to Gable and Cohen, were not to know that. And, of course, by giving the story to Jewish reporter Nick Cohen, they hoped to reinforce the 'anti-Semitism' which, under such circumstances, they find so useful, both as a cover for their own actions and because it frightens off many otherwise sympathetic members of the public.

But what was the one other file, which was left behind at the bottom of a drawer? One marked 'France'! All sorts of other non-political files — containing chainsaw manuals, damp course guarantees and such like — were taken, but one marked 'France' was left behind. As a matter of fact, it related to a property purchase and sale in that country some years before. All material relating to the La Plume/'*FN*' approach [i.e. the *Cook Report* scam detailed in *Patriot* #3 — Ed] was hidden away somewhere else as a security precaution; but, once again, they weren't to know that. So again, the very high-level security service planners — who, unlike Gerry Gable and even the Board of Deputies, have the power to tell police officers what to do in the course of Race Act raids — wanted any file which might contain information about that approach left behind.

There is also strong circumstantial evidence that the team working on the *Cook Report* was provided with information from telephone taps, another thing which would prove the involvement of people other than Gable & Co.

You may recall in part one of this article that, right at the start at the whole affair, I telephoned the hotel in Telford on the evening before the first meeting, to see what I could find out about the *La Plume* booking, and that I was told that there were four people staying under that name. When, therefore, I was met at the door by one of them, had lunch with two more, and heard a casually dropped reference to a secretary in a room elsewhere in the hotel, they were all accounted for. In fact, of course, it is now obvious that the two who didn't dine with us were the individuals operating the concealed camera and changing the tapes. But why did they feel the need to reveal the presence of these two at all? **Because they clearly knew that I had found out that there were four of them, so they had to provide plausible explanations for their presence.**

Much later in the history of the scam, I recounted how I telephoned British Airways to see if I could change my flight so as to get to France early and meet the real *FN* at Carlton TV's expense. And how, a few hours later, Ric dropped into the conversation the fact that he would be checking my flight details later that day "to make doubly sure that there won't be any cock-ups." Very Jesuitical! Once again, it is just possible that the *Cook Report* team worked out for themselves that there was a possibility of my pulling such a stunt, but is not a telephone tap the more likely explanation?



The* Mindbenders *booklet: MI5 anticipated an anti-Semitic rant

Finally, a couple of days before the *Cook Report* team should have known that they were on the road to nowhere, a curious small ad appeared in *The Guardian* (page 23, Tuesday, April 8th). Under the heading 'Ex-British army special forces man for hire', it promised 'any legal task undertaken at home or abroad' and gave a mobile telephone number. On trying the number, I spoke to a man with a Mancunian accent who claimed to be a former paratrooper, working on the security circuit and told me that his rates were £20 per hour. Thus I was provided with reassurance that it is indeed very easy to find and hire men like Ric.

But, on checking all the other broadsheet papers around that time, one finds that the advert appeared nowhere else. Nor did it appear in *The Guardian* at any other time, either before or since. Now, if you were in that line of business, would you really pay for a sizeable advert in *The Guardian*, with its small readership of social workers and unemployed university lecturers, rather than in the *Telegraph* or *Times*, which are read

by businessmen who might actually have need of such a service? So why the *Guardian* on that specific day? Well, over the previous few weeks, Mark Deavin, being an unemployed university lecturer, had been buying *The Guardian* every Tuesday, because that is the day that paper publishes its educational supplement, complete with several pages of vacancies in that field. What is more, he had replied to several such adverts — over the telephone. Coincidence? Possibly, but how many do you want?

It would have been unbelievably corny to have had Ric himself answer the 'phone, but the advert was almost certainly a fake nevertheless, designed to send us off on a wild goose chase of trying to work out what the operation had cost Carlton TV in payments to a freelance mercenary, rather than realising that Ric — like the men who beat up BNP press officer Mike Newland in 1995 — was a serving member of Her Majesty's Armed Forces from military intelligence.

It has already been mentioned that Ric made efforts to appear more working class and down-to-earth than he really was, in order to fit the part of a rough-tough mercenary. Yet, of course, if he was merely a freelance ex-squaddie, hired by the day, he would not have had to put on such an act. Nor would he have been likely to be familiar with *The Morning of the Magicians*. And nor would he have learnt the impeccable silver service waiting techniques with which he sought to impress my colleague and I at the very first lunch. Such niceties are, of course, to be found in the Officers' Mess, which is where middle-ranking military intelligence officers are generally recruited.

Finally, would *Searchlight* and its French equivalent, *Reflex*, really have known — as the planners of this whole operation clearly did — months in advance that Le Pen would announce plans to form a European grouping of nationalists at the *FN*'s annual conference in Strasbourg in March 1997? Such information is far more likely to have come from French intelligence. And again, who is more likely to be exchanging information with the French intelligence service — Gerry Gable or MI5?

WHY WOULD MI5 BOTHER WITH US?

Because they know that history, far from 'ending', is switching to fast-forward. The intelligence services know better than anyone just how unstable the multi-racial society and globalisation has made the British political system. They have seen the mighty Soviet empire — with its millions of informers, murdered opponents, political prisoners and TV sets pumping out the party line — crumble beneath the weight of its own inherent unworkability. Is the trend which is turning the white nations of the world into coolie minorities in their own lands any more natural or workable than Soviet Communism?

With MI5's Combat 18 pseudo-gang having outlived its usefulness, and the Cook operation which was intended to replace it having failed, the BNP is in a uniquely good position to take advantage of the opportunities ahead. However, we cannot expect the political police to take their reverse lying down.

They know that repression is effective on soft groups for a short while, but that in the end it only increases the dedication and the efficiency of the survivors, and turns them into beacons around whom — at crucial moments in history — huge and powerful movements can suddenly coalesce.

They know how, in a society such as ours — where there is a huge and growing gap between the views which the political establishment says everybody should hold, and the things which the majority of people actually believe and want — an opposition which genuinely represents the unspoken will of the nation **has only to reach a certain critical mass for there to be an explosion of support.** No-one can know until it is reached how big that critical mass is, but it is almost certainly much smaller than most people would expect. A nationalist organisation, for example, which could mount a credible electoral challenge in enough council election wards to overstretch opposition leafleting teams and roving hit-squads, for example, could win enough seats to be catapulted to a level of credibility which would create a bandwagon effect. **When the majority of people already agree with you, the passport to success is simply credibility.**

By fomenting divisions within the nationalist opposition, they hope to keep it below that critical mass.

It is likely that we are about to enter a period of greatly increased repression of racial nationalist views. Readers should be aware of the strong possibility that the MI5 specialists who understand the mentality of the average British Nationalist will advise Blair & Co. to clamp down on the BNP, but to allow several of the sectarian groups to circulate their much more extreme literature unhindered. This is already the position with stickers, a useful tool for making an organisation's address available to large numbers of people.

I hope that this study has shown how such groups effectively do the work of those who are working to preserve the present system and thereby to ensure that there is no place under the sun for white children. That the BNP is the target of the repeated and concerted attacks of the security services of this terminally corrupt, ethnocidal state is a badge of honour, and proof that we are the force they most fear. Anything else is a waste of time.

Patriot #5 EURO ELECTION ISSUE OUT IN JULY!

IF YOU ENJOYED THIS ISSUE OF *PATRIOT*, THEN MAKE SURE YOU GET YOUR COPY OF THE NEXT ONE — *SUBSCRIBE!*

Rates for 4 issues: Britain £12.00; Foreign Airmail: Europe £14.20; Australia/NZ £19.60; USA/Canada & rest of world £18.30. For subs not made in sterling add £2.50 for banknotes and £4.50 for IMO's.

Name..

Address..

...

36 BIG PAGES PACKED WITH COLOUR, COMMENT, CULTURE, HISTORY, ANALYSIS AND RACIAL NATIONALIST VIEWS

Back issues of *Patriot* available for £3 post free from address below (Issues 1 — 3 shown on page 33).

Please make all cheques/P.O.'s to 'Patriot' and send to:- P.O. Box 1032, ILFORD, Essex IG1 1DY

'Brown Bess' (The Army musket, 1700-1815)

By Rudyard Kipling

In the days of lace-ruffles, perukes and brocade
Brown Bess was a partner whom none could despise —
An out-spoken, flinty-lipped, brazen-faced jade,
At Blenheim and Ramillies fops would confess
They were pierced to the heart by the charms of Brown Bess.

Yet her actions were winning, her language was clear;
And everyone bowed as she opened the ball
On the arm of some high-gaitered, grim grenadier.
Half Europe admitted the striking success
Of the dances and routs that were given by Brown Bess.

When ruffles were turned into stiff leather stocks,
And people wore pigtails instead of perukes,
Brown Bess never altered her iron-grey locks.
She knew she was valued for more than her looks.
"Oh, powder and patches was always my dress,
And I think I am killing enough," said Brown Bess.

So she followed her red-coats, whatever they did,
From the heights of Quebec to the plains of Assaye,
From Gibraltar to Acre, Cape Town and Madrid,
And nothing about her was changed on the way;
(But most of the Empire which now we possess
Was won through those years by old-fashioned Brown Bess).

In stubborn retreat or in stately advance,
From the Portugal coast to the cork-woods of Spain,
She had puzzled some excellent Marshals of France
Till none of them wanted to meet her again:
But later, near Brussels, Napoleon — no less —
Arranged for a Waterloo ball with Brown Bess.

She had danced till the dawn of that terrible day —
She danced till the dusk of more terrible night,
And her long fierce quadrilles put his lancers to flight:
And when his gilt carriage drove off in the press,
"I have danced my last dance for the world!" said Brown Bess.

If you go to Museums — there's one in Whitehall
Where old weapons are shown with their names writ beneath,
You will find her, upstanding, her back to the wall,
As stiff as a ramrod, the flint in her teeth.
And if ever we British had reason to bless
Any arm save our mothers', that arm is Brown Bess!

THE 'SELF-NEUTRALISERS'
An everyday story of patriotic folk

By MICHAEL NEWLAND MA

The philosopher of science, Thomas Kuhn, introduced a new term into the vocabulary some twenty years ago — the 'paradigm shift'. What people accept as an official description of reality often becomes increasingly separated from their perceptions of the world around them. Frantic efforts are made to square the circle, in which the chief philosophers of the orthodoxy — mindful of their positions and prestige — join with the multitude who want a quiet life, not agonies of indecision about what kind of world they inhabit.

Eventually, the inevitable heretics, who have gnawed away at the official viewpoint for decades, create a climate in which the current orthodoxy is seen to be so at odds with reality that even the mentally lazy are no longer prepared to support it. The padlocked gate against which the heretics have been pushing is quite suddenly unlocked, and everyone falls on the floor in a tumble. So it was with a belief that the earth was flat, and more recently with belief in communism. The old world comes suddenly to an end. A new paradigm is born.

With the white race facing submersion in the US, some Nationalists think the answer is to be found playing out costume drama

G.K. Chesterton wrote at the beginning of this century about how orthodoxies — for all their apparent power — are apt to collapse:-

> 'The players listen very carefully to all that the clever men have to say about what is to happen in the next generation. The players wait until all the clever men are dead, and bury them nicely. They then go and do something else.'

Most of the clever men who predicted the world triumph of communism are physically dead, and the rest politically near-dead, if one leaves aside the social aspect of communism and its ambition to make us all exactly alike. Liberalism — the current political paradigm — will too decline and die, since its fundamentals are at odds with human nature. Our task is to speed it on its way.

Effective heretics are the propelling force behind the necessary paradigm shift. There are increasing signals, from within the liberal keep, of ideological unreliability among the palace guard. One celebrated captain of liberal belief, Melanie Phillips, has already defected, describing liberalism as based on lies, and harming those it is supposed to help. Nigella Lawson complained in the arch-liberal *Observer* recently that multiculturalism claimed to prize difference, when, in reality, it can only tolerate uniformity. The penny appears to have dropped!

Unfortunately and at the same time, some of liberalism's opponents on our side unwittingly offer it oxygen by their inept behaviour.

THE SELF-NEUTRALISERS

The fight for white survival has had to battle on two fronts in recent years. Not only have we faced one of the most vicious systems of mind control ever invented — liberalism — a far more sophisticated orthodoxy in this respect even than communism, but a seeming inability on our own part to break out of an internal culture which has been intent on neutralising itself.

Heretical activity against the prevailing liberal paradigm has done as much to encourage its continuance as to challenge it effectively.

Nearly every positive and constructive piece of nationalist activity — and there has been much of it, at an enormous expenditure of energy — has been counterbalanced by more, which blanked-out the good work with bad. Often the same people participated in both ends of the game without understanding the damage they were doing! Often the bad came from other factions within the patriotic movement who hated to see others get ahead. It has been a political Hammer Horror film, dripping with good mens' blood, which might be called 'The Self-Neutralisers'.

The worst example is US nationalism, running around the woods waving guns, or wearing cartoon hoods, without any serious clue about real politics. South Africa is another example, with lots of dressing-up in uniforms, and posing on horses. As a despairing white said on a not entirely unsympathetic television programme recently: "The white movement is led by political amateurs". It is high time that the best friends of white survival said what needs to be said about why we are not winning — whatever the ruffled feathers.

In Britain, one may say, not without excessive exaggeration, that nationalists have divided over the last decades into two camps: those who favour the politics of the wind-up or at the least, adversarial posturing; and, outside the BNP, the infiltration enthusiasts — with the Tory Party as their target. Both strategies have demonstrably failed. In the former case, and as far as the public are concerned, nationalists are commonly perceived as something approaching outlaws, rather than the representatives of mainstream British life which we should be. In the latter case, it is easy to see the superficial attractions of taking over a large and successful party, but any prospect of doing so was a mirage which people who wanted an easy answer chose to dangle in front of themselves. Some are still doing so.

On the night of Derek Beackon's election as a BNP councillor in 1993, a mob assembled outside the town hall where the votes were being counted. They fought, screamed, and put the fear of God into local people as to what they might expect from the BNP winning an election. No it wasn't the extreme-left, although they were present doing much the same. It was ourselves! Film of it all was used over and over again on television whenever the BNP's name was mentioned. The self-neutralisers at work. The public want solutions to their problems, not an indication of more problems.

BNP self-neutralisers on the night of the Millwall win destroying public support

SHOP STEWARDS

BNP meetings have for many years sported shop stewards from the SNU (Self-Neutralisers Union) among the audience. Though tiny in numbers, they flit from group to group, and try to ensure that a representative attends most meetings, while doing little else. They are easy to spot, epitomising the lack of unity around a saleable political programme which has cursed us. At question time, up goes a hand. When they ask, are we going to put aside the cowardice which has infected the leadership and get round to the real business of marches, street fights, and so on? They do not put it quite so bluntly as a rule, of course, but the meaning is clear. The SNU, admittedly, has been comparatively quiet of late, but, like Old Labour within Blair's project, they are always with us.

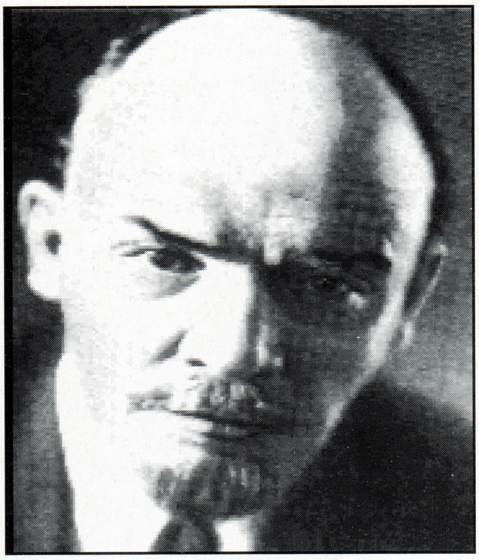
The shop stewards' complaints strike an emotional chord, if not a rational one, and they know it. Older patriots have a sneaking regret about the passing of the delights of their youth — the excitement of mass marches during the 1970s and the demos of the 1980s and early '90s. Younger people are made to feel they have missed something, and are being cheated by slovenly leaders who pay inadequate attention to providing for their needs. The SNU stewards are very smart at strewing doubts. People are made to feel mildly guilty about their failure to promote what has failed for 60 years. The vague promise is on offer of joining or forming some other group which devotes itself to the 'real stuff'. At the slightest sign of effective political activity, the SNU is there spreading allegations of 'betrayal' or 'sell-out'.

IMPRACTICAL

There is nothing novel about radical political movements being undermined by self-neutralisers. All of them — good or bad — have to meet and overcome the same problem. Utterly impractical people, who want to foist their own impracticality on everyone else, are part of human nature. The state knows well how to recruit and use them, often sending them in to foment discontent and encourage illegality.

Thirty years ago, I spent an afternoon with a self-proclaimed black radical who called himself 'Michael X', and presented himself as the UK equivalent of the American 'Malcolm X'. This unsavoury person had 'psychopath' written all over his personality, and had previously worked as a bouncer for the criminal slum landlord Peter Rachman, who employed mafia methods to eject elderly tenants from properties he owned in London's Notting Hill. This proved no bar to the ingenious Michael, who made quite a name for himself as a 'freedom fighter' on the black behalf, but later came to grief when he was hung in the West Indies for multiple murder. The SNU operates without prejudice regarding race, creed or colour!

The communist movement was riddled with self-neutralisers during the early 1900s. When Trotsky came to London in 1902 to join a group of legendary Russian revolutionaries, he soon discovered that most of them were hotheads, and near useless from a practical point of view.



Lenin: He recognised that Communism had its own self-neutralisers

Shoot at the Tsar, miss, and flee Russia was the level of political competence. All they had achieved was to tighten the grip of the régime.

At the end of the First World War, the legendary communist 'Red Rosa' Luxemburg tried to start an uprising in Berlin, which had no hope whatever of success. The diabolical Rosa ended up murdered and thrown in a canal, and her unfortunate 'Spartacist' followers much the same. It was all rather like the probably apocryphal line from a 1930s gangster movie in which a tough guy says: "Go on hit me. Let me show you I can take it!"

Lenin became so exasperated by the activities of self-neutralisers that he was driven to write a little book about it, which some nationalists would do well to read! *'Left-wing' Communism — An Infantile Disorder* is about people who think they represent the 'pure cause', and do not want it diluted by anything which smacks of an attempt to gain mass support, and therefore the chance of actually getting into power and really achieving something. 'No compromise, no manoeuvres' is the slogan — no support is the result! In Lenin's time, the pure folk disdained from participating in elections, with all the advantages they brought in putting over a message to the majority of the public. They disdained from changing tactics in response to events. We've heard all of it within nationalism for years!

MANIPULATION

One of the worst aspects of the perverted purity, about which Lenin complained, is that it engenders an inward-looking movement which becomes incapable of seeing manipulation when it stares them in the face. The whole thing breeds mini-leaders of endless splinter groups, who end up more as small businessmen than political radicals. We do not need to look far to see the same thing outside the BNP, on both left and right.

A remarkable example has just come to light in France of the effects of insularity within political groups. A surprisingly successful Trotskyite group, called Workers' Struggle, has operated for the last forty years in conditions of considerable secrecy. Its followers are required to dedicate themselves to the cause like monks in a monastery, and forbidden to have children. The whole affair has now been shown up as secretly run by a ruthless businessman, who owns a chain of companies, one of which recently paid out substantial damages for infringing its employees' rights. The arch anti-capitalist 'Workers' Struggle', tops for ideological purity and mysterious monastic dedication was, in fact, run by an arch capitalist! Ideological 'purity' and secretiveness in politics breeds such blind alleys for the unfortunates who become drawn in.

DO YOU SINCERELY WANT TO WIN?

Do you sincerely want to win? There are two types of political movement.

The first has as its purpose to express its views, regardless of whether there is the slightest hope of gaining any support. Tiny communist groups are ace expositors of the principle. Standing on street corners, they still exhort the workers to rise up and establish a communist state in Britain. There are few takers, and even those numbers are diminishing. Self-neutralisers have no effect or influence.

The second type of movement is practical to its fingertips, and goes about advancing its objectives in the manner which gives most hope of achieving them. Everything is calculated to give the maximum result for the minimum effort — as Americans say: "Work smarter, not harder."

Smartness includes recognition that the most difficult types of political activity are not necessarily the most effective. A very good example is small marches at which one's own people are surrounded by police. As one so-extreme-as-to-be-off-the-meter US right-wing group admitted frankly not long ago, they end up making the marchers look as though they are being escorted away to prison rather than taking power. Anything, in fact, which makes the movement look weaker, and makes it less effective, is avoided by quick-witted and practical political groups.

Which type of political movement would you prefer to belong to? One hopes the latter. We must now turn to some of the necessary details which require correction if our cause is to succeed.

TRAPS

Anything which smacks of crankery has to be removed from our platform.

If you insist on believing in little green men from Mars, then at least the matter can be put in a way which avoids the 'crank' label. You can always say: "More research is needed into the question of life on Mars," rather than: "I believe in little green men." The difference is that between a politician and one determined to remain marginal within society. If the little men turn up at some time your position is well-covered, and you can claim open-mindedness and foresight!

Serious political movements continuously examine the programme they are trying to sell to the public for difficult areas and traps which might cause a loss of support. Tick lists of points to be tackled in a more effective manner are compiled and dealt with one by one. Either a policy is changed, or it is sold more effectively. In this area, as in so many others, British nationalism has simply not brought sufficient professionalism to its political work. Labour went through the card with ruthless efficiency during the last few years and soon won power. Fossils like Clause Four, calling for communisation of the economy, were dumped unceremoniously.

There are two particular elephant traps which have become very evident in nationalism, and into which patriots seem often determined to throw themselves: democracy and repatriation. Nick Griffin addressed the latter in his ground-breaking *No Time For Peter Pan*, so I have no need to restate the arguments. The public, incidentally, are far more likely to be converted today by a frank admission that there are solutions on offer, but not by magic. In fact, the biggest problem is that the public are so jaded that they nowadays often refuse to agree that there can be any solutions at all to anything!

Democracy is an imperfect system, but one which leaves room for improvement. The pre-war banner which read "Democracy has failed" is simply not one which will attract people to march behind it in any significant numbers in the post-

war world. Even hints at one-party states make the public run a mile. Therefore, patriots must offer the public what they want — more democracy, not a platform of solutions to problems by untrammelled power. In wartime, such preferences may be willingly given up by the public. Churchill incarcerated people without trial in concentration camps on the Isle of Man and elsewhere during WWII. We are not in such a situation.

The drawbacks for a party which fails to recognise the realities of the post-war world have made themselves tragically evident within the *Front National* recently. Mass expulsions because of policy differences which should have been settled internally have saddened everyone who cares about the future of white people.

GOING WITH THE GRAIN

What much of the above adds up to is that a misperception exists in nationalist ranks concerning the need for one's politics to be seen as going with the grain of the society around one, rather than setting up a set of ideas one happens to believe good for the country, but regardless of the broad feelings of the people.

Nationalism in Britain has been notable for its past inflexibility, with suggestions of change when the current methods proved ineffective often meeting a concrete internal culture which condemned even debate about methods as the slippery road to betrayal. If other radical movements which have succeeded had adopted the fossilisation to which British nationalism has allowed itself to be drawn in the past, they would have made no headway.

Successful radical movements root themselves in the emotional soil of the people they want to lead. Without that, grass-roots support will never emerge on a sufficient scale. That applied and applies to the Vietcong, the *Front National* — and, make no mistake, it has applied also to Sinn Fein/IRA.

The *Front National* has made very sure that it promotes a political culture rooted in French life and traditions. The *FN*'s annual fair in Paris is steeped in Frenchness, as all those who have attended can attest. An endless succession of stalls celebrates local cuisine from all parts of France, and French literature. All too often in Britain nationalist events have been quietly semi-sabotaged by a few individuals sneaking round with semi-Nazi literature to be distributed under the counter. If **British** nationalism is to be a serious enterprise then symptoms of inability to construct a thoroughly British movement, without reservation, must go for good.

Even the IRA has run rings round us at a level of political skill and sophistication — without cultivating grass roots appeal the few involved in violence would have been rounded up long ago. The IRA swims in a sea of tacit approval large enough to avoid marginalisation, yet British nationalism, which has never plotted to murder or maim anyone, lives with a negative perception on the part of most of the public.

The reason is that Irish nationalism succeeds in appealing on the basis of being the pure essence of what it means to be Irish — replete with symbols and martyrs in the style of a religion. British nationalism must be utterly British to win the organic support which French and Irish nationalism attracts, and everyone must understand that and support it. With such a history of achievement as ours, God knows, we are scarcely hard up as Britons for such icons — scientific, political, and military!

In this country, at the present, time political activism is generally unpopular on any side of the political fence. After the war, political parties were genuinely mass movements. Today, even the main parties often cannot attract activists. The Tories are reduced to paying children to distribute their propaganda.

There is what the writer Albert Hirschman called a period of 'atrophy of public meanings' during which people find involvement in public affairs unappealing. At such a time it is obviously even more necessary to make one's politics acceptable than usual, if a movement on a sufficiently large scale to break through is to be created. That must mean adaptability, but not to the extent of trying to recruit the sirens who would join if such and such changes were made — but would soon find more excuses if they were satisfied on the points they raised. The worst offenders are often lapsed Tories, whose slogan appears to be: "No controversy please, I'm a British conservative." There is a balance to be struck, but British nationalism has failed dismally to seriously confront the spectrum of possibility for decades.

VIRTUOUS CIRCLE

There has been more than a little of the Mr Micawber syndrome about nationalism in Britain, waiting for something to turn up rather than constructing a scenario within which we create events. More than the glimmerings of progress in lifting ourselves out of this *cul de sac* have appeared during the last few years, but there is a long way to go. The great thing about politics is that constructive strategies soon attract the human and other resources to sustain them.

Our present task is to enlarge the virtuous circle for which the foundations have now partly been laid by the BNP. Where errors in tactics and strategy have been made, we must rectify, or at least learn from them. Certainly, we cannot allow the wish to save face to become a barrier to change.

The* Front National *at play at its annual Bleu-Blanc-Rouge fête: Thoroughly French and thoroughly mainstream

Write to:-
The Editor
'Patriot'
PO. Box 1032, Ilford,
Essex IG1 1DY

Sir — First of all, congratulations on the first three issues of *Patriot*. I thought Michael Newland's marathon 2-hour interview was a superb exposition of BNP policy. Although it is obvious that Mr James Whale of Talk Radio is opposed to our racial nationalist beliefs, he must be applauded for refusing to be intimidated by the left and permitting us a broadcast to the nation, which covered our programme on agriculture, economics, industrial regeneration, immigration, law and order etc., in the interests of free speech.

A tape of this interview, together with BNP interviews on Scottish Radio and here in Cornwall would be a useful recruitment tool and fund-raiser.

Finally, with regard to J. Truman's article '60 years of nationalism', I feel it could so easily have been called '100 years of nationalism'. Perhaps a party member out there with the necessary historical references could write about the success of the late 1890s and early 1900s; The British Brothers League (BBL) and the post-World War I National Party led by Lt. Henry Page-Croft, both of which held rallies of 40,000 plus in East London and elected many councillors and 4 MPs between them! It should be noted that they were buoyed up by intense patriotism in Britain and the Empire at the time, and in the case of the BBL, succeeded in lobbying for the passing of the 1905 Aliens Restriction Act (which reduced the scale of Turkic-Mongoloid immigration into Britain at the time). Both organisations were successful in drawing upon British traditions and our cultural heritage and were not hampered by associations with Nazism or Fascism for the simple reason that these creeds had yet to be developed.

Sir Oswald Moseley later admitted himself that the adoption of the Fascist uniform and salute was a mistake, reflected in the dropping of the word 'fascist' from the British Union party name and the outlawing of the salute by his post-war members of the fifties.

Robert Westlake, Cornwall.

Sir — Thank you for the prompt delivery of *Patriot* issue 3. What a complete joy! To find a magazine where nationalist politics can be not only understood but thoroughly enjoyed. This is not only a great vehicle but a thrilling one to take the views of decent honest people forward into the 21st Century. Keep it up!

G. Pollock, Belfast.

Sir — Congratulations on the latest *Patriot*. On numerous occasions we have been asked the question: "What was the major factor in your decision to join the BNP *en bloc* from the National Democrats?" I can say that the gentlemanly conduct of both our party leader John Tyndall and Nick Griffin had an overwhelming effect on the course of action we decided to take and certainly tipped the balance for us.

I have to say though, that it was *Patriot* with its show of support for modern nationalism, its admittance of past mistakes, and its showing the way ahead that first made us even consider joining the British National Party. Only after realising that the BNP was serious in its desire to move ahead and change did we enter into tentative discussions with both Nick Griffin and John Tyndall.

For years I have pressed the need for building a solid base in local communities as a prelude to winning local government office. You can imagine my delight when first reading *Patriot*, to actually read a nationalist publication promoting community politics as hard as it did.

Sensible nationalism built on the desire to serve our people in all communities across the country, will give us the breakthrough which we all crave. Keep up the good work.

Steve Edwards,
Regional Organiser, West Midlands.

[There is no doubt that the recruitment of the Nat-Dem organisation in the West Midlands has been a considerable *coup* for the party. That *Patriot* was the instrument which originally primed this recruitment gives me special pleasure, as it has made the *Patriot* project a worthwhile success and confirms the value of this *niche* magazine — Ed].

Patriot

Crossword puzzle answer from Patriot issue 3

①
② EUROPEAN
③ TREASON
④ SCOTLAND
⑤ MODERNISM
⑥ IMMIGRANT
⑦ ISLEOFDOGS
⑧ REPATRIATE

Anagram answer: FOR RACE AND NATION

Patriot

Middle East Pop quiz

Answers may (or may not)surprise you

Question 1: Which country alone in the Middle East has nuclear weapons?
Answer: (a) Iraq?; (b) Israel? or; (c) Syria?

Q2: Which country in the Middle East refuses to sign the nuclear non-proliferation treaty and bars international inspections?
Answer: (a) Iraq?; (b) Israel? or; (c) Syria?

Q3: Which country in the Middle East seized the sovereign territory of other nations by military force and continues to occupy it in defiance of United Nations Security Council resolutions?
Answer: (a) Iraq?; (b) Israel? or; (c) Syria?

Q4: Which country in the Middle East routinely violates the international borders of another sovereign state with warplanes and artillery and naval gunfire?
Answer: (a) Iraq?; (b) Israel? or; (c) Syria?

Q5: What American ally in the Middle East has for years sent assassins into other countries to kill its political enemies (a practice sometimes called exporting terrorism)?
Answer: (a) Iraq?; (b) Israel? or; (c) Syria?

Q6: In which country in the Middle East have high-ranking military officers publicly admitted that unarmed prisoners of war were executed?
Answer: (a) Iraq?; (b) Israel? or; (c) Syria?

Q7: What country in the Middle East refuses to prosecute its soldiers who have acknowledged executing prisoners of war?
Answer: (a) Iraq?; (b) Israel? or; (c) Syria?

Q8: What country in the Middle East created 762,000 refugees and refuses to allow them to return to their homes, farms and businesses?
Answer: (a) Iraq?; (b) Israel? or; (c) Syria?

Q9: What country in the Middle East refuses to pay compensation to people whose land, bank accounts and businesses it confiscated?
Answer: (a) Iraq?; (b) Israel? or; (c) Syria?

Q10: In what country in the Middle East was a high-ranking United Nations diplomat assassinated?
Answer: (a) Iraq?; (b) Israel? or; (c) Syria?

Q11: In what country in the Middle East did the man who ordered the assassination of a high-ranking UN diplomat become prime minister?
Answer: (a) Iraq?; (b) Israel? or; (c) Syria?

Q12: What country in the Middle East blew up an American diplomatic facility in Egypt and attacked a US ship in international waters, killing 33 and wounding 177 American sailors?
Answer: (a) Iraq?; (b) Israel? or; (c) Syria?

Q13: What country in the Middle East employed a spy, Jonathan Pollard, to steal classified US documents and then gave some of them to the Soviet Union?
Answer: (a) Iraq?; (b) Israel? or; (c) Syria?

Q14: What country at first denied any official connection to Pollard, then voted to make him a citizen and has continuously demanded that the American President grant Pollard a full pardon?
Answer: (a) Iraq?; (b) Israel? or; (c) Syria?

Q15: What country on Planet Earth has the second most powerful lobby in the United States, according to a recent *Fortune* magazine survey of Washington insiders?
Answer: (a) Iraq?; (b) Israel? or; (c) Syria?

Q16: Which country in the Middle East is developing a 'racist' bomb aimed at killing its ethnic enemies with biological warfare?
Answer: (a) Iraq?; (b) Israel? or; (c) Syria?

Q17: Which country in the Middle East is in defiance of 69 United Nations Security Council resolutions and has been protected from 29 more by US vetoes?
Answer: (a) Iraq?; (b) Israel? or; (c) Syria?

Q18: What country in the Middle East is the United States continually threatening to bomb because "UN Security Council resolutions must be obeyed?"
Answer: (a) Iraq?; (b) Israel? or; (c) Syria?

Middle East pop quiz Answers

Questions 1-17: Answer is (b) Israel;
Question 18: Answer is (a) Iraq.

Thanks and credit for most of this quiz is due to MER who can be found at:- MER@MiddleEast.Org

A PRIMER ON THE SINGLE EUROPEAN CURRENCY

By MICHAEL NEWLAND MA

Britain's main political parties are placing increasing pressure on the electorate to accept entry into the group of European countries which are currently abolishing local monies and introducing a single currency.

Despite such a move being the greatest political and economic decision taken in generations, most members of the public have only the haziest idea what is involved. There are two reasons for this, one good and one bad. The bad reason is that the main parties would rather the public did not look at the matter from a too well-informed position. The good reason is that the economic side of the matter is complex, and even professional economists cannot agree. The purpose of this article is to lay out the basics — with the BNP entering the lists for the European elections this year everyone should feel it their duty to make sure they have acquired at least a general familiarity with the main facts.

MESSINA

The political aspect of the single currency issue may rapidly be disposed of.

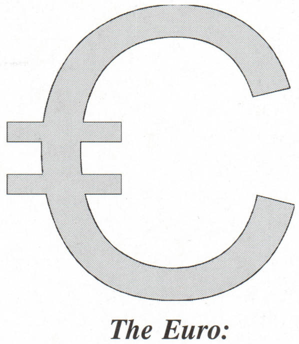
At the Messina Conference of 1955, European nations agreed formally to embark on a project of political and economic unification, which had been planned since shortly after the war.

It was well understood by the founding fathers of the project, Robert Schuman, the French Foreign Minister, and Jean Monnet, that this would mean, eventually, an almost total loss of national sovereignty — something which would be unacceptable to Europe's peoples.

Thus a strategy was discreetly formulated of making the erosion of sovereignty a gradual process.

Most steps in that direction would be so small that — it could be argued — only the churlish would object. Overall, the strategy was denial of the objective — witness Sir Edward Heath during the 1970s. The technique relied partly on 'directives' under which participant countries would be required to alter their laws at the behest of the union, rather than having regulations directly imposed on them. Thus, a certain illusion of being in control of events could remain with individual countries.

One day the nation states would awake to find that their self-determination had gone. The process has been compared to tying down Gulliver. Each thread could individually be easily broken, but, once sufficient threads had been tied the victim would find himself immobile. There is even a technical term for it in Eurospeak — 'neo-functionalism'. No wonder the Europhile Michael Heseltine said that government cannot tell the truth about the project! The claimed economic advantages are routinely talked-up to distract attention from the main objective.



The Euro: Coming occupation currency

MAASTRICHT

One step in the process could not be carried out in minute stages however — the introduction of a single currency. The process could certainly be broken down into stages, but they would individually be major in themselves. The Maastricht Treaty of 1991 proposed the fixing of exchange rates, before the single currency itself would be introduced. It is the necessity for major steps to be made at one fell swoop which has pushed the whole affair into the forefront of political debate. Europe was regarded by voters as something of a yawn until recently.

The problem of gaining public acceptance, when advancement to integration could no longer be undertaken by stealth, was met by politicians in two ways, until about 1994. The first was to claim that a single currency would have little effect upon everyman beyond removal of the inconvenience of changing monies at Dover. If that were the case we would have had a single world currency a century ago! The second was to suggest that the affair was of such complexity that it was best left to experts. "Just leave it all to us" said the surgeons before lopping off the wrong leg! Indeed, information on the pros and cons was hard to come by — no accident the conspiratorially minded will say. At the time of Maastricht it was difficult even to come by the text of the treaty!

The single currency project, like most economic policy making, involves weighing up the positive and adverse effects of the policy and deciding whether advantage outweighs disadvantage.

For example, if government tries to bring down unemployment it may have to face excessive wage claims which necessitate bringing the experiment to a shuddering end. The advantages of a single currency are essentially two — removing the costs and inconvenience of changing monies when trading across national borders, or travelling abroad, and avoiding uncertainty about how much one's goods will fetch or cost if one imports or exports products. The disadvantage is inability to alter exchange rates or 'parities' as they are often termed. Furthermore, a common interest rate will also be made regardless of individual economic conditions as they affect individual nation states and, despite the denials, it doesn't take a crystal ball to see that taxes will also be 'harmonised'.

BRETTON WOODS

In 1944, the leading countries covenanted to establish a system of broadly fixed exchange rates between their monies known as the Bretton Woods system, after the place in New Hampshire where the agreement was made. However, separate currencies were retained by the various countries involved (the pound, dollar and so on) and if a country's exchange rate became permanently out of line with the costs of its goods relative to other nations — the big disadvantage of fixed exchange rates or indeed a single currency — then an adjustment to the exchange rate was permitted. That is what happened in 1967, when Britain substantially devalued the pound.

The then Prime Minister, Harold Wilson, made at the time his famous remark about 'the pound in your pocket' remaining the same in value. This proposition was economical with the truth to say the least, since the pound would no longer buy so much in terms of imported goods — more than a quarter of what we consume.

The intention of the Bretton Woods system was to make investors and traders confident about trading and investing abroad without the disadvantage of a single currency, in that any adjustment to exchange rates becomes impossible — the best, in fact, of both the worlds of fixed and constantly variable exchange rates.

The Bretton Woods system collapsed during the early 1970s, partly as a result of the US having persistently taken advantage of its position by issuing a currency everyone wanted — the dollar. The US could acquire goods simply by printing money, but at the expense of inflation in other countries! It was thought at the time that abandoning fixed exchange rates between currencies — termed 'floating' in economist's jargon — might mean constant small adjustments automatically made by market pressures which would avoid having to make the occasional large adjustments which took place under Bretton Woods.

Unfortunately, at around the same time, controls on speculative movements of money were abandoned, and exchange rates began often to move around wildly, spreading distress far and wide. The view taken in Europe became that it was impossible to return to reasonable stability of exchange rates unless different monies were abolished. The alternative of blocking movements of money not directly involved in trade was rejected as a barrier to investment, although debate about this issue has been regenerated by the collapse in Far Eastern economies towards the end of last year.

EMU

Impetus was thus given to a scheme for European countries to form a single currency — European Monetary Union or EMU. The argument put forward is that the advantages of removing gyrations in the exchange rate outweigh the problems when a country's costs and prices becoming sufficiently different to its trading partners for its trade to be unbalanced — either buying more than it sells or the reverse. If advantage outweighs disadvantage among a group of countries the area is termed by economists an 'optimum currency area'. The big question for Europe, at which point we now arrive, is whether the countries of the European Union, and in particular Britain, constitute an 'optimum currency area'.

In a perfect world, the price level of wages and the cost of goods and services would be completely flexible. If a country were purchasing more goods from abroad than it imported then, by simple supply and demand, the price level in the country whose sales were disappointing in quantity would fall until a balance was achieved. In practice that does not happen to the degree required. Workers are reluctant to reduce their wages since their standard of living will fall.

That is what happened when Britain restored a system of fixed exchange rates during the 1920s at much too high a rate. In such circumstances, trade can only be made to balance by imposing a recession. If unemployment increases, then fewer goods will be bought from abroad, while sales will be largely unaffected. The same thing happened when we joined the European Exchange Rate System (ERM) in 1990 at too high a rate. The cheers soon turned to tears, and, within two years, the project was abandoned and the economy began to recover.

The position of a country with too an high exchange rate is known as the 'Meade Dilemma', after Britain's Nobel Prize-winning economist James Meade. If government tries to increase employment then the trade balance worsens. If it improves the trade balance then unemployment worsens. That is one of the major reasons why fixed exchange rate systems have a history of collapsing. The political pressures on governments faced with a contest between meeting the terms of external agreements and dealing with a society where mass unemployment may eventually bring their downfall are intense.

Harold Wilson: Labour liar

Of course, the problem can initially, and in theory, be avoided by choosing the right exchange rate at which to join up to a fixed exchange rate system. Unhappily, the other countries involved may not agree. Some may wish to force agreement on a rate of exchange which gives them an advantage in selling their goods. Japan is an example of a country which has tried to maintain a low exchange rate, outside any fixed exchange rate system, to ensure booming exports which will compensate for a low level of demand at home. The choice of exchange rates between the world's countries has a strong political dimension.

Even if agreement can be reached on the perfect exchange rate, that is not the end of the matter. It is very likely that different levels of inflation in different countries, or changes in the level of demand for goods which a particular country specialises in producing, will, before long, need a change in exchange rates — impossible in a single currency system. Britain, internally, has a single currency and whole areas of the North of England have suffered prolonged decline as a result, for example, of a shift in demand for coal relative to other products and services produced elsewhere. Another example is Italy, which, after a century and a half of the lire, is almost two countries economically, to the extent that there is a separatist movement in the more successful northern half.

ADJUSTMENT

There are two ways in which such adjustment problems can at least be partially dealt with within a single currency, and therefore by definition a fixed exchange rate system.

One is for workers in the high unemployment areas to move to successful

regions. That is difficult enough within a single country with the same language, although some nations to a greater degree than others accept migration as a part of the pattern of working life. The United States is such a country. Mass movements of population around Europe are far more difficult owing to the language barrier. Jobs increasingly require skills involving verbal and written communication, and few of us are multi-lingual.

The second method is simply for the more successful areas to subsidise the weaker areas as, for example, occurs via the tax system within the United Kingdom. The unemployed draw benefits paid for by those working in other areas. The European Union's MacDougall Report suggested that all of us would have to contribute 10% or more of our incomes to a central fund to make a single currency tolerable. At the moment, the EU budget amounts to not much more than 1% of what we produce as a continent. Enlarging such a fund to the degree needed would meet considerable political and taxpayer resistance! There is also the difficulty that poorer areas become dependent on handouts and fail to ever restore their local economies. Under a single currency, smaller and weaker countries or regions may drift into this position. Southern Italy is an example.

MONETARISM

There is an argument that the outcome of economic processes cannot be altered by monetary means. The doctrine, known as 'monetarism' regards money as merely a veil on economic activity. Monetarists will say that the ability to alter the exchange rate is largely worthless. Prices will rapidly adjust to restore the original relative values of goods and labour. A country which devalues its currency to sell more will simply provoke inflation and end in much the same position. Such a prediction was much offered after the UK left the ERM in 1992 — and proved false. During a massive recession, people will accept a small loss of earning power if more jobs are available. Practical experience suggests that devaluations may not be a permanent answer to the problem of balancing trade, but they do at least provide a window of opportunity during which investment is encouraged in new plant, which will allow a better trade-off between unemployment and paying foreign debt. Economists call such changes 'structural'. A single currency, by definition, would not allow this escape route.

GOLD STANDARD

Those who say that countries can live with permanently fixed exchange rates will sometimes point to the existence of such a system during most of the latter part of the 19th century and up until the First World War. The arrangement was called the 'Gold Standard', and fixed the values of all currencies in terms of gold, which has historically tended to retain its value over long periods, thus giving confidence in paper money. The system only broke down as a result of the First World War. We mentioned earlier the attempt by Britain to go back to the old system during the 1920s.

If the Gold Standard could work for a long period then why not take the extra step of abolishing separate currencies? The question is then did it really work and if so how? The answer is that, until after the First World War, unemployment was not a primary political concern. It was generally believed that joblessness could only occur if workers demanded too high wages — what economists call 'classical unemployment'. The jobless were generally seen as the feckless poor. The system also vigorously dealt with trade imbalances by one of today's big economic no-no's — tariffs on imports.

DEMAND

Our discussion so far has focused largely on the problem of balancing trade to avoid a level of foreign debt which eventually becomes unsustainable (this outcome is likely to hit the US at some point owing to its trade deficit). There is a second difficulty within a single currency area.

In the 'Meade Dilemma' situation, a country did, in theory, have some leverage over the level of demand and thus unemployment. The two main ways in which government can regulate demand is to alter the rate of interest at which the central bank will lend money, and to borrow and spend. Adjusting the central interest rate tends to affect the general level of interest rates like, for instance, overdraft charges, with consequent effects on spending. Government borrowing and spending directly affects the level of demand, and has particular advantages in that it can be directed away from imported goods and, often, towards desirable investment rather than consumption.

In a European single currency the interest rate will be set by a single central bank. If different countries do not have their economic cycles synchronised then, for example, the interest rate may be set to dampen demand in a booming country or group of countries, leaving those in recession stuck without one major means of stimulating demand. Even more perverse, if one country's inflation rate is higher than another, and its economy is running out of control, then the interest rate, after allowing for inflation, will fall, making the situation worse. The reverse will apply to a country in recession.

Britain's economic cycle is not synchronised with those of France or Germany, for example — both were about to enter an upturn until the late 1998 world shock, while Britain is set for a downturn after the miniboom in some areas during the last year or two.

That leaves government borrowing and spending, or 'fiscal policy' as it is known, as the remaining instrument usable when a single country suffers recession. Under the Maastricht agreement, governments are barred from using fiscal policy to more than a very moderate extent. The reason is a fear that any particular country which makes use of the fiscal weapon will force up interest rates generally throughout the EC, to the disadvantage of other members. A country in severe recession will be stuck!

SUMMARY

The principal purpose of the single currency is political, but it has also profound economic effects. Ability to alter a country's exchange rates provides a means of altering relative prices across countries without relying on individuals within the countries making those adjustments. This second line of defence allows countries which cannot keep trade with their neighbours in balance a means of making the necessary changes over a period with the minimum pain. Complete inability to adjust exchange rates, as in a single currency, is likely to spell prolonged recession for some areas, and probably permanent decline. This can be partly obviated by mass movements of population, and massive transfers of tax revenues away from the more successful areas.

There is no simple manner of presenting the economic complexities involved in a single European currency, and it this fact which has eased the path of those who wish to introduce it, while assiduously avoiding the more pertinent political questions. A bored public will, however, feel less disinterested in the economic conundrums when the results begin to come through in years to come.

Drama lies ahead.

NATIONALISM & FOOTBALL

LARRY PRIEST argues for an all-UK footballing side

Last year's World Cup tournament which saw both England and Scotland compete for the biggest prize in international football, saw British hopes of success dashed once again. England fared better than Scotland, going out on penalties to an Argentinean side that many had tipped to actually win *France '98*; while Scotland didn't make it beyond the first round group stage.

For both England and Scotland it was another re-run of World Cups past. Since these two sides first entered the fray in 1950, England have qualified ten times and failed to qualify on three occasions — 1974, 1978 and 1994; Scotland have qualified nine times, failing to do so in 1962, 1966, 1970 and 1994. And that's without Wales and Northern Ireland who have qualified once and three times respectively.

So far as success is concerned, England have won the 'big one' — once — in 1966 as every schoolboy knows. That one solitary shining beacon apart, British footballing success just doesn't match up to the likes of Germany, Italy and Brazil. Aside from '66, England have made the semi-final just once, and the quarter-finals four times. Scotland have never progressed beyond the first round and Northern Ireland & Wales have both made the quarter-finals once. In the European Championships, only England has managed even a modicum of success reaching the semi-finals twice. More often than not, however, England have failed to get past the first round.

Aside from 1966, British sides have signally failed to make their mark.

A GREAT BRITAIN TEAM

It is ironic that foreign national Football Associations have repeatedly asked for a single UK team entry and that the Scottish, English, Irish and Welsh FA have opposed the idea, since a larger all-UK pool for selection would undoubtedly raise the chances of British success. But Once-upon-a-time that was exactly what happened. In 1900, 1908 and 1912, a Great Britain team was able to win Olympic gold! The first two Olympic football tournaments were held in England, while the 1912 tournament was held in Sweden. The 1912 win also neatly lays to rest the old myth that British teams can only win internationally when on home soil. There was also the Great Britain side that thrashed the rest of Europe team 6-1.

Just imagine what a wealth of talent would have been available to a Great Britain side. From Scotland: Law, Bremner, Mackay, Dalglish, Souness and Hansen; from England: Shilton, Banks, Bobby Charlton, Moore, Hurst, Greaves, Hoddle, Coppell and Lineker; from Wales: Toshack and one of the all-time greatest strikers of the modern era — Ian Rush; and from Northern Ireland: Pat Jennings and George Best.

CURRENT DIVISION

At present, the claim is that a united team would see the four home nation Football Associations lose money and, of course, the fans wouldn't like it. On the other side of the coin, FIFA, the Federation of International Football Associations would prefer a single side since they would be able to increase African and Asian participation in the World Cup. And as for the fans? With a new, more successful UK side, they'd soon get used to it! Home games could rotate between the four nations

PATRIOTISM AND NATIONALISM

The clincher for British Nationalists, surely, is that it would strengthen enormously the bonds that tie our British nation together and which have been progressively undermined. Irish, Welsh, English and Scottish would be united in a common enterprise as in the war. Sharing footballing victory and defeat would unite the UK as never before. The coming Welsh Assembly and Scottish Parliaments are the thin end of the wedge to sunder our British Isles into small, easily controlled fragments. The swell of emotion generated by football, however, means that an all-UK team could one day reverse the process of division and represent a new Greater Britain.

The United Kingdom team with captain, Tottenham and England inside-forward, Vivian Woodward (seated centre) and the Rev. Kenneth Hunt, Wolves FA Cup medal winner (top left)

BLENHEIM —

'Corporal John's' finest hour By Steve Smith

British history has witnessed some brilliant military achievements. The familiar names of Agincourt, Trafalgar and Waterloo easily spring to mind. So many in fact, that some of our greatest military triumphs often get overlooked. One such took place in August 1704 at a small town in Bavaria, southern Germany. It was called Blenheim.

This battle never seems to attract the interest of the British public in the same way that Agincourt or Waterloo has done. Then again the aforementioned battles have both had films made about them and in the case of Agincourt there is the very obvious link with Shakespeare through the character of Henry V. Perhaps because Blenheim was sandwiched between the 'Glorious Revolution' of 1689 and the Imperial conquests of the mid-18th century, the standard history books have in some cases treated it has a minor detail. This shouldn't be. Blenheim was a well-planned and masterfully executed military engagement which, thanks to the genius of the Duke of Marlborough (John Churchill), resulted in a victory over the formidable armies of Louis XIV, who hadn't lost a serious battle in nearly forty years — France at that time being the supreme power in Europe.

British troops may have made up only a quarter of the army that confronted the French (we were part of one of our usual coalitions), but there can be no denying that our influence on the outcome of the battle was paramount; principally with regards the skill of Marlborough and his commanders, and of the British infantry which led the key frontal assaults on the French positions. Without our involvement it would have been highly unlikely that our main allies — the Dutch, Austrians and Prussians — would have been able to defeat the French at all.

'Corporal John' — The Duke of Marlborough, John Churchill

BACKGROUND TO THE BATTLE

King Charles II of Spain died in 1701. He had no immediately available heir. Thus shortly before his death he nominated as his successor the Duke of Anjou, grandson of Louis XIV. The consequences of this would have meant that, apart from Spain itself, and the Spanish empire in South America, its territories in Italy and Flanders would have fallen under French control. The other key powers in Europe realised that any further French expansion had to be stopped. Thus the 'Grand Alliance' came into existence. This was essentially Britain, Austria, Holland and Prussia, together with some minor allies. Their single aim was to contain France.

Each member of the alliance had its own motives for joining the Alliance. The Dutch, fearful and isolated — particularly since the death of William of Orange (also King William III of England) — had reason to feel threatened by French acquisition of Flanders since that would leave them almost surrounded. The ruler of Austria, the Holy Roman Emperor Leopold I, also realised the need to neutralise French aggression, especially since the Elector of Bavaria had thrown his lot in with the French. Britain, naturally had no desire to see French domination of Europe. There was also a threat in the official recognition by Louis of James — the Catholic 'Old Pretender' — as the 'rightful' King of England. This was the final straw so far as the British were concerned, and quickly led to our declaration of war on France.

The 'War of the Spanish Succession', as it came to be known, dragged on for nearly twelve years (1702-1713). Yet it was Blenheim, the key battle at the beginning of this conflict, that not only influenced the outcome of the war (it gave the Allies belief that they could actually beat Louis) but also saw Britain move up a league, from a promising national power to one of world-class status with Imperial ambitions.

THE ALLIES

A treaty of alliance between the British, Dutch and Austrians was signed in September 1701 at the Hague. The architect was William of Orange and his principal negotiator Marlborough. William died in 1702 but the alliance held together under Britain's new sovereign Queen Anne. She also continued to use the services of Marlborough. With William's death, the Dutch were initially reluctant to see their troops under a foreign Commander-in-Chief but, grudgingly, they accepted

Marlborough as CinC of the Allied armed forces. There was, however, a condition that the Duke must inform the Dutch government of his plans at each stage of the campaign. Marlborough was irritated by Dutch caution when the French were poised to march into the Danube valley and possibly knock Austria out of the war. He therefore had to devise a plan that not only kept the Dutch content but also prevented the Austrians being defeated. This would require fooling the French about his real military strategy. Marlborough had promised the Austrian Imperial envoy that he would march into the Danube and thus relieve pressure on the Austrians but in return he would require the services of an army under General Prince Eugène of Savoy. This was agreed.

The British left flank — Lord 'Salamander' Cutts begins his assault on Blenheim.

THE PLAN (APRIL 1704)

To reach the Danube, Marlborough had to march a large army (40,000 men) a distance of some 250 miles over difficult territory full of unbridged rivers and mountain ranges. Along the route an allied German army of some 20,000 men would join up. Starting at Liege, Marlborough was already aware that his major problem would be the logistics of marching a large army over such a long route. There was also the danger that, as he swung into southern Germany, his flank would be exposed to attack from Louis' troops in eastern France. This was part of his gamble though. He wanted the French to think he would be campaigning on the river Moselle (see map 1) and not attempting to reach the Danube

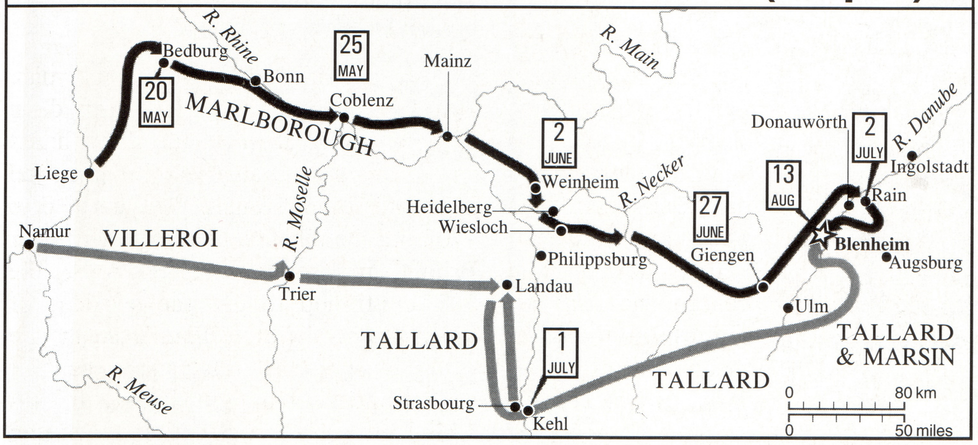
Commemorative Medal to celebrate the victories of Marlborough & Eugène

This bluff was essential to the plan. By May 25th the British had reached Coblenz and the French Marshal Villeroi turned towards them anticipating battle. Marlborough and his men simply continued marching a rough route south-east. By June 7th the Allies had reached Wiesloch, south of Heidelberg.

The French Marshals Villeroi and Tallard had linked up their respective armies at Landau, expecting Allied attacks in eastern France — Marlborough had created this illusion by organising a bridge to be built at Philippsburg, thus creating the false impression that the Allies were going to cross the Rhine. But instead he and his men carried on their advance towards southern Germany and the Danube. Louis XIV then commanded Marshal Villeroi to remain where he was, and told Marshal Tallard to follow the allies into Bavaria.

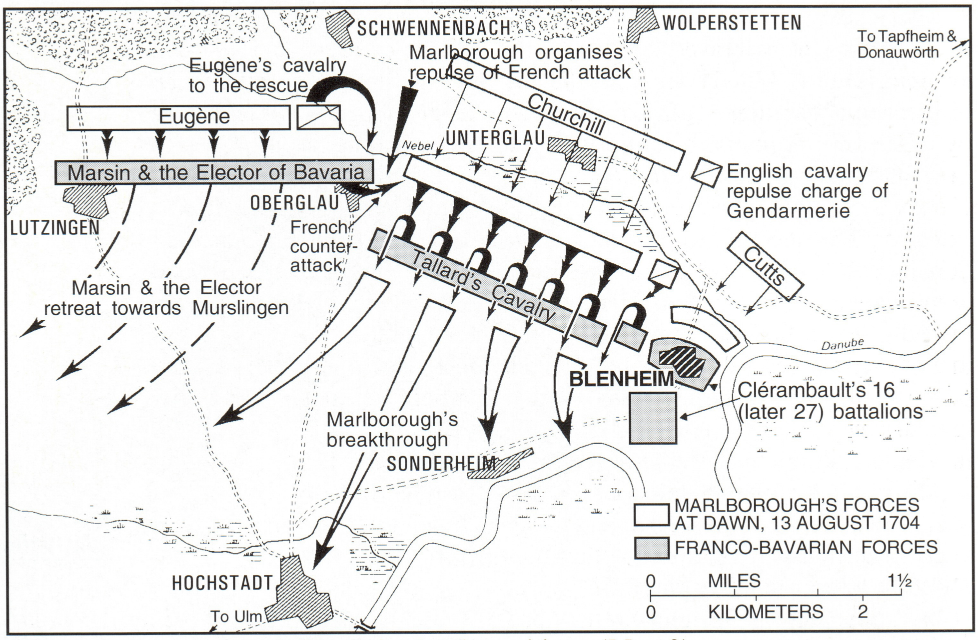
As well as military heroism and tactical brilliance, the most outstanding feature of Blenheim was the logistics of moving a large army (by the standards of the time) halfway across Europe, covering some 250 miles. Thanks to the Duke's administrative ability, his army was well supplied all the way. A travelling treasury ensured that funds were always available to buy food, horses and other essentials. At each and every stage of this long march, depots were prepared in advance to provide for the army. Fatigue was kept to a minimum. The Duke's army would begin marching at 3am and rest at 9am. Every fifth day was a complete rest. Naturally the cavalry would tend to advance much further than the infantry and artillery, but with the rest period at the end of four days marching, the allies remained together as a solid unit.

THE MARCH TO THE DANUBE (Map 1)



ENGAGEMENT

After a period of manoeuvring and a confrontation at Donauwörth that led to its capture by the allies, both opposing sets of



Blenheim battle positions (Map 2)

armies took up their positions by August 13th. The allies had roughly 50,000 men and 60 guns, the French (including their Bavarian allies) had approximately 60,000 men and 120 guns. The allies compensated for deficiencies in men and particularly guns by a greater number of cavalry.

Marshal Tallard took a great deal of care when positioning his armies (see map 2). His left flank was straddled between the villages of Lützingen and Oberglau. In this he was assisted by the Elector of Bavaria and his troops. The right flank of his army took up position between Oberglau and Blenheim. Tallard left his centre weakened and short of infantry, but with the land either side of the Nebel at that point consisting of marshy ground, he thought the Allies would direct the main part of their attack towards Blenheim on his extreme right, its flank protected by the Danube.

Marlborough could do little until his ally, Prince Eugène was in position and in front of the armies of Marsin and the Elector. Eugène's job was basically one of a holding operation, though he was required to attack when possible.

In the centre, Marlborough placed his main body of troops under the command of his brother, General Charles Churchill, facing Tallard's weak centre. The Allied left was led by Lord 'Salamander' Cutts, so-called because he enjoyed being in the heat of action. Cutts' part in the operation was to provide relentless probing attacks on the town of Blenheim in order to lure the French into packing the town with infantry. This would result in a gradual weakening of the French centre.

Lord Cutts began the opening stage of the battle at Blenheim itself in the early afternoon of 13th August. It had the intended result. Marshal Tallard, feeling that his cavalry and troops in the centre protected by the marshland facing the Nebel were sufficient, ordered infantry to Blenheim. With Blenheim packed with French troops, Marlborough told Cutts to halt his attacks. The action now moved to the centre and the village of Oberglau.

At 3pm, the Duke's ally, the Prince of Holstein-Beck marched towards Tallard's troops. However, the French counter-attacked and at this crucial stage of the battle, it was the Allies who were in a critical situation as their centre began to crack. It was only thanks to determined counter-movement and attack by Prince Eugène's cavalry that the Allied position held firm.

By 4pm, the Allies had regained the initiative. The troops in Eugène's sector (the right flank) had not only held back Marshal Marsin and his Franco-Bavarian allies, but they had repeatedly attacked them. "I have not a squadron or battalion which did not charge at least four times," commented Eugène afterwards.

With the constant probing by Lord Cutts' troops on the left flank, Marlborough was ready to win the battle.

The French cavalry in the centre, only now supplemented by limited infantry support, decided in desperation to attack Marlborough through the middle. It was a doomed gesture. The British cavalry fell back and the startled French were confronted by line after line of infantry muskets. The well-drilled units of British foot unleashed volley upon volley of murderous fire, until the French assault broke and they were pushed back again.

Marlborough now made his final move as his massed cavalry pushed towards Tallard, supported by 8,000 infantrymen.

The French centre crumbled and began to retreat. During this episode, Tallard himself was captured by the British. The French left flank which had fought its part gallantly and undefeated was also obliged to retreat to avoid envelopment as the whole tide of battle now swung against them. Blenheim, still packed with French infantry, was surrounded and the engagement was effectively over by 6pm.

AFTERMATH

The Allied victory surprised the whole of Europe — Louis XIV had proved beatable! Marlborough and Eugène had lost a total of 13,000 men, while the French sustained losses of 20,000 killed, 14,000

Folk Art and Heritage

P.O. Box 1032, Ilford, Essex IG1 1DY

Posters and Greetings Cards

Sets of full colour greetings cards come in two designs: Stonehenge, Winter Sunset and Stone Circle, Aberdeenshire. These 8" x 4¼" cards come complete with envelopes in sets of twelve and are £6 post free. State how many of each required. Posters come in two sizes: A3 and A2. Posters #1 — #4 are A3 size (roughly 11¾" x 16½"); and posters #5 — #11 are A2 size (roughly 16½" x 23½")
COLOUR posters #1 & #3 are £3 each; B&W posters #2 & #4 are £1.50 each.
COLOUR posters #5 — #9 and #11 are £4 each; B&W poster #10 is £2.
Postage rates are: £1 p&p for 1st poster, then 10p/poster.
Folk Art and Heritage is a wholly owned subsidiary of the BNP. All profits go straight back to the party.

Send cheques/P.O.s with order to:- FAH, PO. Box 1032, Ilford, Essex IG1 1DY

wounded, and 7,000 desertions.

Apart from British bravery and the tactical awareness of the Allied command, the key to victory was the element of bluff employed by Marlborough in combination with the meticulous preparations made beforehand. He acquired the epithet 'corporal John' because of his attention to the needs of his ordinary troops. He understood their requirements if they were to be successful in battle. Even halfway through the long march each soldier was supplied with fresh boots, and with adequate supplies and regular rest periods the Allied troops were in peak condition when the battle began.

The war itself continued for another ten years. Yet thanks to this earth-shattering victory, and further triumphs at Ramillies (1706), Oudenarde (1708) and Mal Plaquet (1709), the pattern for the conflict had been set.

One of Marlborough's junior officers said of him: "He never fought a battle which he did not gain, nor laid siege to a town he did not take."

But Marlborough was more than a mere General. He was a leader of men, possessing immense political and diplomatic ability. He also appreciated the need for a technical approach to army supply, epitomised by his organisation of soldiers' provisions and engineering feats building bridges across the Rhine and the marshy river Nebel.

Spoils of War:
British trooper collects a fallen French banner.

1704 also witnessed the capture from Spain of Gibraltar by Admiral Rooke. This was indeed the beginning of Britain's rise to Great Power status and in time, the attainment of the greatest Empire the world has ever seen. BNP

READ BNP PUBLICATIONS

Read *British Nationalist* and *Spearhead* for more Nationalist news and views.

British Nationalist is the broadsheet newspaper of the party packed with news and facts the controlled mass media don't want you to know. Plus the latest news and developments on the BNP. Sample copy 86p, post free.

Spearhead is Britain's longest running nationalist magazine. Read *Spearhead* for an in-depth view of nationalist politics. Sample copy £1.80, post free.

Cheques/Postal Orders please to *British Nationalist* or *Spearhead* (state which) at P.O. Box 117, Welling, Kent DA16 3DW.

(See page 18 for back issues of *Patriot* — issues 1, 2 & 3 shown below left).

BOOK REVIEW

THE NATIONAL FRONT AND FRENCH POLITICS

By Jonathan Marcus *Reviewed by Tony Lecomber*

Published by MacMillan Press 1995: £45.00 hardback, £15.99 softback.

While the author, Jonathan Marcus, is clearly no friend of the *Front* — his book being subtitled 'the resistible rise of Jean-Marie Le Pen' — Marcus does at least give a fair account of the *FN*, its background, make-up, policy platform and its chief proponents.

He starts the book off by looking at the *Front's* 13th BBR fête. He remarks that the crowd are ordinary people. Middle- and working-class families, army veterans, a 'sprinkling of skinheads' and even priests — a veritable cross section of French society. What surprised Marcus most about the *Front National*, presumably after acquainting himself with the British Front, is its very normality. This theme crops up again and again. That the *Front* should have steeped itself in Frenchness is hardly to be wondered at since they are, after all, French nationalists.

Marcus deals with the *Front's* political emergence, Le Pen, its electoral rise, immigration as an issue, the *FN* programme and its ideology and the response of the establishment to the *FN*. The story stops, of course, in 1994/5 when the book was published. Since then, the 15% electoral plateau has been confirmed and more latterly, there has been the disastrous split within the party.

What is special about this book is firstly, it's a nationalist success story; and secondly, not withstanding differences in culture, law and historical experience, it is very much a 'how to' guide.

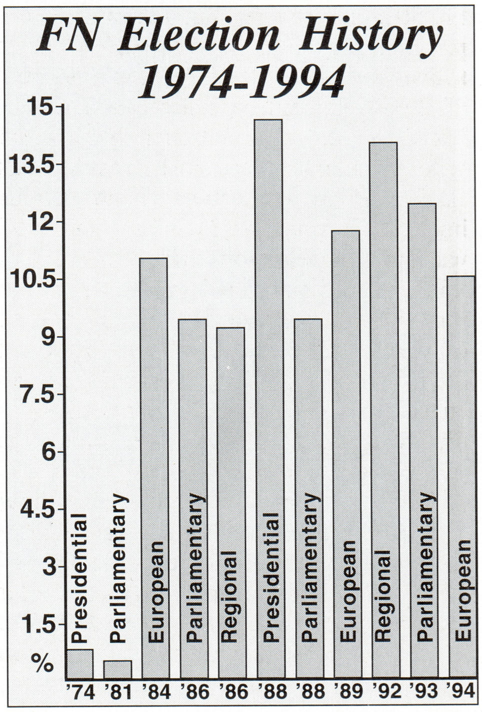
An example of this is the way he looks at the *Front's* unpromising beginnings. Nazi associations and allegations of Vichy collaboration against some might have been expected to kill it off. But a wholesale organisational and ideological change in the late 1970s meant that out went the old neo-fascism and in came a more moderate and democratic nationalism. The promotion of an electorally appealing, forward-looking party that engaged with the problems of ordinary people meant that while the *Front* maintained its hardcore support, it could also reach a much wider audience. Even so, the first electoral test thereafter saw the *Front's* vote slump to its worst ever poll.

Dreux is very important to the *Front National*. In the *FN's* subconscious, Dreux is year zero. Everything that had gone before was experimentation leading up to that event, a political desert that had to be crossed, metamorphosing as it went from a far-right party with embarrassing figures and strident language into a slick, sophisticated, more electorally appealing party. In the late 1970s Jean-Pierre Stirbois established his political base there, some 70km west of Paris. In council elections in 1982 Stirbois got 12% of the vote. In 1983, the RPR fearing it would, as a result, lose its seats offered the *FN* a place on its list. The joint RPR/*FN* list lost by eight votes but due to a voting irregularity, the election had to be fought again. At the by-election, Stirbois took 16.7% in the first round and again scared the RPR into agreeing a joint second round list. So it was that the *FN* took four seats on the town council. The result at Dreux, like that of Millwall for the BNP, was the product of intensive local work by Stirbois from 1978-1983 (Indeed, given that the BNP victory was achieved without alliances in a hard fought five-way contest with half the preparation time of that of the *FN*, the BNP's achievement is much the more impressive). Six years later, Stirbois' widow won the parliamentary seat in a by-election.

None of this happened in isolation. The intellectual groundwork was laid by the *neuvelle droite*, or 'new right' centred around GRECE led by Alain de Benoist. This intellectual input was drip-fed into the political system, popularising both the language and the ideas that were to aid Le Pen's *FN*. Marcus notes: 'Its desire to conquer the intellectual high ground in society thus preparing the way for a political transformation, was heavily influenced by the work of the Italian Marxist thinker Antonio Gramsci.' Gramsci, of course, believed in a war of position in which cultural and intellectual hegemony was a prerequisite to political power.

After Dreux comes a litany of electoral results, the most spectacular of which was its first national test after Dreux — the European Elections of 1984, when its national support increased by a full ten points enabling it to send 10 MEPs to Strasbourg. This was surely the result of the *FN* just having entered the political consciousness having won its first council seats the year before.

Two years later, in 1986, the *Front* topped 9.8%, again with proportional representation securing 35 seats in



Parliament. But it was 1985 that showed the *Front's* growth. In Cantonal elections that year the *Front* contested ¾ of all the seats available with 1,521 candidates winning 8.7% of the vote. The vote was respectable, but it is the increase in the numbers of candidates that tell the story — up from 65 candidates just three years before in 1982.

After the elections of 1984 and 1986, PR was abolished for all but European elections, specifically to hinder the *Front*. From that moment, the *Front* has had to battle against the two-ballot majority voting system which has been its chief obstacle to further progress. A system of alliances — RPR/UDF and PC/PS, that is to say broad centre right and broad left, compete in the first round with the losing alliance partner standing down for the second round. It is relatively easy for the *Front* to hurdle the 12½% first round barrier. The problem is in the second round when it has to take on the voting alliances of more than one party. Indeed, where the *Front's* vote has been particularly strong, a rainbow alliance candidate has been fielded for the second round — the establishment versus the *Front*, giving Le Pen to remark that the day of the parties is at an end since it is increasingly the *FN* against the rest!

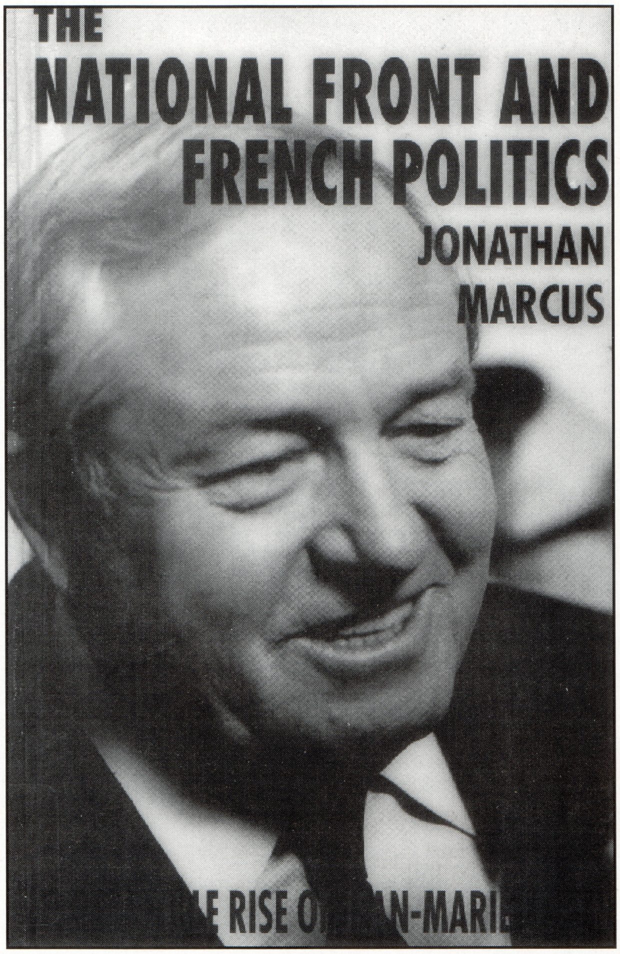
The tactic used to overcome this is for the *Front* to hurt the right by urging its supporters to vote left. Beyond the scope of the book, this tactic shattered the right in the 1997 elections and led many to cut deals a year later which resulted in the 'wreckage of the right' and paved the way for the *Front* to go mainstream. All this really needs to be covered by Marcus in an update to his otherwise excellent book.

Outstanding election results just under the 50% mark were obtained in the 1993 parliamentary elections with 49.8% in Dreux (Stirbois), 49.5% in Marignane (Mégret), 45.2% in Marseilles (Roussel) and 42% in Nice (Le Pen). The national share of the vote producing these local results was 12.4%. Since publication of the Marcus book, the *Front* took 14.94% in the 1997 parliamentary elections to make it France's third largest party, although due to the tyranny of the two-ballot system it took only one seat (which it then lost on a technicality and failed to hold in the subsequent by-election). Once again, a clutch of sub 50% votes were achieved, but this just begs the big question.

Back to the book, Marcus details how Phillip de Villiers fielded a separate *l'Autre Europe* list in the European Election of 1994 to take 4.5% of the vote on a similar programme to the *Front* which took 10.5%. That de Villiers could garner this extra support and not Le Pen poses a serious question on the ability of the *FN* to breakout beyond its 15% or so support level to be able to take government.

While the *FN* operation is, in general, a slick one. Marcus notes the occasional blunders which, for a party opposed by the entire weight of the establishment like the *FN*, are a serious matter. Le Pen's remark about gas chambers being a "detail of history" would clearly better not have been said. So too his incredibly crass "Durafour-crématoire" remark to a Jewish government minister. As a result, it is hardly a surprise to find that opposition to him and his ideas rose to 78%, with 65% believing that Le Pen and the *FN* represented a danger to democracy.

Marcus acknowledges the skill of the *FN* in keeping immigration at the forefront of public attention and remarks that establishment apeing of *Front* rhetoric (to win second ballot elections) meant that the issue was legitimised by sections of the establishment. In terms of the *Front*'s programme, from the detail given, there is not much difference between the BNP and the *FN*. Particular historical circumstance, the French Revolution for example, clearly add a French dimension but this should not be overstated. A reading of Le Pen's writings on civilisation and nation states parallels closely that of the BNP's own leader, John Tyndall.

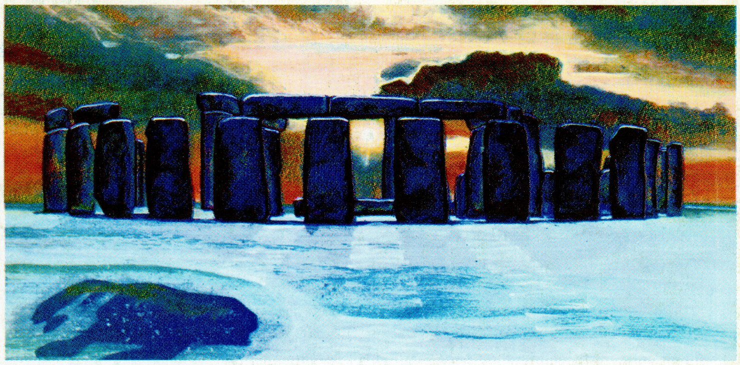


This is a 'must get' book! The hardback is a bit pricey, but the softback is well worth the money.

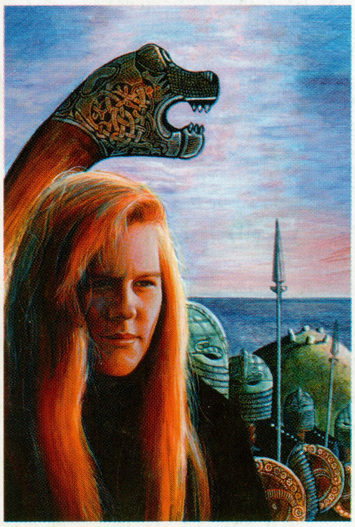
Marcus says that the *FN* has reached a critical stage of its development with a 15% share of the poll [written in 1995, it does not take into account the later winning of four town halls in Southern France. However, the 15% achieved in 1997 confirms the 15% plateau] and mostly blocked by the two-ballot system. It must either increase its own share of the vote or cut a deal with an ally. One cannot but suspect, however, that both options are closed due, primarily, to the presence of Le Pen himself. It is ironic that the man who has built the most successful nationalist party since the war is now its chief hindrance. It is also very sad because it's not really his fault. It is simply that the weight of collective dirt and opprobrium heaped upon the *Front* and upon Le Pen for more than 25 years is now too much for further progress to be made. There is a parallel here with Neil Kinnock and the Labour Party. With three defeats in a row, Kinnock began to tackle Labour's substantial electoral handicaps — the Trots in Militant, loony left councils, and some of the more bizarre conference decisions. The consequence was an electable Labour Party hampered by an unelectable leader — Kinnock having taken so much dirt flung at him by the media. The result was a fourth defeat and the emergence of John Smith followed by Tony Blair. It is important to note that Blair inherited the fruits of Kinnock's toil — an electable Labour Party. Kinnock's last service for the Parliamentary Labour Party was to walk away taking the dirt with him — very much a Biblical scapegoat. One cannot but help feel that this is the kind of service now best able to be performed by Le Pen. Their recent split complicates matters, but a fresh face is likely to meet less resistance in the cutting of any deal and crucially, in raising the *Front*'s vote up from its current 15% to the 30-35% it could so easily make since that's the proportion of people that have at one time or another voted *FN*. Marcus himself reaches this very conclusion: 'The *Front* in its present form, and with its present leader may have reached the limits of its success... If the *Front* is ultimately to prosper further, it may need both a new leader and a new, more attractive political strategy.'

See page 32 for prices

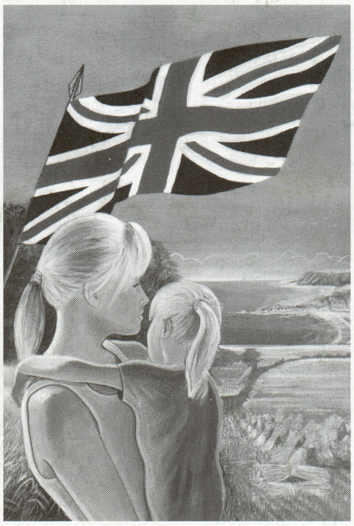
Folk Art and Heritage



Above: **Stone circle, Aberdeenshire and Stonehenge, Winter Sunset.** Note, these two designs are *cards* **not** posters.



Viking Princess - poster #1



Mother and Child - poster

Nelson's Glory - poster #3

British Future - poster #4